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Early Chola Temples

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Early Chola Temples

PARANTAKA I TO RAJARAJA I

(A.D. 907 — 985)

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

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the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, who dedicated his life to the cause of National Integration and Universal Peace.

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सत्यमेव जयते

पर्यटन तथा नागर विमानन मंत्री
MINISTER OF TOURISM & CIVIL AVIATION

FOREWORD

In the grandeur of their monuments, the vastness of their empire and the sophistication of their machinery for civil administration, the Cholas were the greatest of the South Indian dynasties. For over four hundred years, from 850 to 1279 A.D., they ruled over a vast empire which extended beyond the seas. They established a highly organised bureaucratic system of administration, reconciling central stability with effective decentralised local governments, and maintained a powerful standing army for protecting their far-flung empire. They had a powerful navy too, whereby they not only conquered overseas territories but also dominated the sea for a considerable time which helped them maintain active and extensive maritime and commercial activities. Their system of detailed and accurate land survey and collection of revenue are brought out in a large number of inscriptions on the walls of their temples. Above all, their contributions to art and culture are considerable, and they were the greatest temple builders of South India. Their achievement in the field of art and culture is a bright chapter of Indian history.

Shri S.R. Balasubramanyam is an eminent scholar and an international authority on Chola Art and Architecture. While his previous book on Early Chola Art deals with the temples built during the period of the first two rulers of the Chola period, the present volume carries on a further survey of monuments attributable to the period of Parantaka I and his successors up to the accession of the illustrious Emperor Rajaraja I (A.D. 907-985).

I hope that the author will pursue the subject further and bring out another volume covering the rest of the Chola period, thus completing a valuable study of this remarkable dynasty and its contributions to Indian history and culture.

Karan Singh

New Delhi,
January 16, 1971.

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Preface

South Indian architecture and sculpture has been comparatively neglected till recent times. But it is coming into its own and slowly but surely its greatness has begun to be recognised both in India and abroad. To Jouveau Dubreuil, a pioneer in this field of study, we owe much, while Gopinatha Rao, the Iconographer, also contributed very considerably to our knowledge of the subject though in a specialised context. Closer to our own generation is the work of Professor Nilakanta Sastri and of S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, the author of the present volume. A factor of prime importance in the study of South Indian architecture and sculpture is the wealth of inscriptional material on the walls of South Indian shrines. This vast engraved documentary provides a veritable ocean of knowledge for the history, the social and economic life, the religion and religious practices, the iconography and the town and village administration of South India. Though the method of stylistic analysis for the study of South Indian art must ever remain of high importance, the inscriptional evidence is not only an invaluable handmaiden to a scholar of this subject but often the key to the solution of knotty problems and controversial opinions. But it is not given to many to be able to correctly read and interpret this source material in Pallava-grantha and Tamil. Shri Balasubrahmanyam has the good fortune to be one of those few who can, with authority, expound this inscriptional material. No scholar of South Indian inscriptions would be slow to recognise this fact even where differences of opinion exist, as they must, in so specialised a subject of scholarship. Not only are these inscriptions beset with many difficulties pertaining to their date and interpretation, but the material, being immense, has to be collated with the help of known historical facts, obtained from other sources such as copper plate grants and contemporary literature remembering ever the regnal periods of different kings. *Birudas* such as Rajakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman can often be misleading as they apply to more than one ruler. It is not uncommon to find that it is only by a process of correctly eliminating various discordant aspects that one can arrive at reasonably certain conclusions. One outstanding feature of the present volume is that the author while putting forward his interpretation of an inscription enables the reader to know what other eminent epigraphists also have to say on disputed points. These temple inscriptions, apart

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from those which the author himself has discovered, are published in a large number of scattered reports and the author has placed all students of South Indian art under a great debt in bringing together all relevant inscriptions pertaining to a particular shrine in relation to the period covered by the present study. In addition, Shri Balasubrahmanyam has carefully noted the architectural development of the South Indian temple from reign to reign and combined this study with the inscriptional evidence in order to justify the sequence which he has sought to establish as well as his ascription of the foundation or renovation of a particular temple to a particular reign. The result we may say without any undue praise is an indispensable source book for the study of the South Indian temple from the time of Parantaka I to the end of the reign of Uttama Chola. South Indian temple art covers an enormous canvas right from the early cave architecture of the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the Vishnukundins upto the mighty bizzare fanes of the Vijayanagar rulers and their viceroys the Nayaks. To the author, the crest-jewel of this glittering complex is the temple art of the Chola kings. His first volume on this subject was limited to the reigns of Vijayalaya and Aditya I and the present volume is its sequel. Of Aditya I it is said in the Anbil plates of Sudara Chola that he constructed numerous temples of stone to Lord Shiva on both banks of the Kaveri river. This was not an empty boast for "Early Chola Art" by Shri Balasubrahmanyam is a twentieth century revealment of this glorious achievement. But the successors of Aditya I were not slow to emulate the piety of their famed ancestor and the present volume is the result of painstaking research spread over many places and many years to tell us of what was contributed for the advancement of early Chola temple art by Parantaka I, Sundara Chola, Aditya II and Uttama Chola. In this period come the remarkable endowments of Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola whose religious zeal, though expressed in a different manner, reminds us of the fervour of the Shaivite gospellors of an earlier age who revolutionised the religious life of the South. The Sembiyan age which the author deals with in considerable detail is a humble tribute to an inspired devotee of the Lord. Some of the noblest South Indian bronzes were the creation of the Sembiyan age.

There is no aspect of Indian art which is not controversial today. The reconstruction of oft inadequate or disputed material leads to differing conclusions at the hands of scholars. This is also true with regard to early Chola temple art though the solid body of inscriptional evidence which has been patiently brought to light by Epigraphists, including the author, tends to narrow down differ-

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ences of opinion. But some measure of disagreement will remain. The method adopted by the author covers the temples in each reign setting out the location, the relevant inscriptions and certain stylistic features. Those who are aware that inscriptions from older foundations were often copied out on to later reconstructions will realise the difficulties which beset the researcher. Whether particular inscriptions are original or copies can at times be a vexed question. Shri Balasubrahmanyam is alive to the problem but it is natural that so competent an epigraphist must have his own views on such matters. Where general agreement is not possible, each scholar must work out his own solution and support it to the best of his ability. Differences of opinion make a thesis neither good nor bad. If the discussion of contrary viewpoints affords an impetus to re-thinking then it is worthwhile. No true scholar can afford to be inflexible if the object of scholarship is the search for truth. That some parts of this volume deal with controversial matters is evident from the fact that the author himself has controverted certain viewpoints held by other writers. Notably I may refer to the Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple at Kilappaluvur. Its construction has been assigned by Barrett to the fifteenth regnal year of Uttama Chola and the style of its *devakoshta* sculptures has been relied on in part for this conclusion. Apart from the fact that there are only five *devakoshta* sculptures which would ordinarily suggest a period earlier than Uttama Chola, the style of the sculptures does not to my mind preclude a dating in the reign of Parantaka I which in fact has been suggested by Shri Balasubrahmanyam. The temple has an inscription of Parantaka I as early as his tenth year and no convincing data is forthcoming to regard the Parantaka I inscriptions as later copies engraved on a new shrine of the fifteenth year of Uttama Chola. I see no real difficulty in regarding the Lingodbhavamurti of the Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple as belonging to the Parantaka I period and similarly if one does not doubt that the Brahma of the temple at Uyyakkondan Tirumalai very close to Trichy belongs to the Parantaka period, then the Brahma of Tiru Alandurai can equally well be placed in the same period. Though I am a great believer in the method of stylistic analysis, I am not inclined to put too much reliance on minor iconographic details. For instance it was at one time thought that the presence of a kirthimukha buckle on a waist belt in a South Indian bronze precluded it from belonging to the Pallava period. But as I have shown elsewhere this type of buckle, though in less elaborate manner, is found both in the Kailasanatha temple and Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchi and is not uncommon in late Pallava sculpture even in a more elaborate form. Again there

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is considerable difference of opinion on the date of the Muvarkoyil of Kodumbalur which Shri Balasubrahmanyam confidently ascribes to the reign of Sundara Chola. But I must content myself with saying that a Preface is not the proper forum for the elucidation of intricate historical details.

Since my primary interest in Chola art is the sculpture of that age (both stone and metal), it is satisfying to observe that the author has not bypassed these two most important aspects of Chola achievement. But any study of Chola sculpture must begin with that of Pallava sculpture for the debt of the Cholas to later Pallava art is very great indeed. It is a cardinal error to think of later Pallava sculpture as a process of decline. Kaverippakkam, Tiruttani, Takkolam, Ramakrishnarajpet and several other sites in the same tradition as this close knit complex must dispel all notions of the decline of Pallava art. In fact it was the work of this period which gave the initial impetus to the early Chola art of Aditya I and its inspiration persisted even into the reign of Parantaka I. Though sculptures and bronzes are not the principal themes of the present volume, yet the inscriptional material collated by the author will also afford invaluable guidance to the dating of Chola sculpture of various periods. Of course much caution has to be exercised because sculptures of a later period have come to be placed in earlier temples and vice versa. The author has however enumerated all the early sculptures still existing in each temple or its precincts and also indicated as far as possible, which of them are clearly later insertions of another period. Where new niches have been cut, this can be observed, but replacements in old *devakoshtas* require very detailed examination. The position with regard to metal images is even more difficult. Here we can rarely secure the aid of inscriptional material and a stylistic sequence has to be worked out utilising stone sculpture as a most useful but not invariably correct mentor. The author appropriately deals with Dubreuil's theory of the *Chakra* and *Sankha* which I pointed out long ago could not be accepted as a sure guide though it undoubtedly has its uses. So also, the position of the *Yajnopavita* in conjunction with other stylistic factors can still be a very useful indication to the period of a particular sculpture or bronze. This is also true of the different formations of the hanging median loop of the waist girdle. Nevertheless it is true that no cut and dry methods can be evolved for establishing a chronological sequence of Chola sculpture and metal images.

The illustrations, several of which have never been published before, go to complete this important publication on Chola art. It is much to be hoped that Shri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam will shortly

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be able to cover the rest of the Chola period and thus conclude the series as a fitting tribute to the devoutness and aesthetic sensibilities of a great dynasty of South Indian monarchs. Of Parantaka I in the Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola it is said, "the earth had a good king and poetic art a proper seat and skill in the fine arts found a common shelter". This patronage of the arts is indeed the proud heritage of all the Chola kings.

KARL KHANDALAVALA
Editor, Lalit Kala and Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademy, New Delhi

Camp : New Delhi
27th March, 1971

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Introduction

The present volume is another chapter of Chola Art and Architecture. It deals with the monuments built during the period covered by the reigns of Parantaka I and his successors up to the accession of Rajaraja I. It is a detailed study of more than sixty temples with sketches of some more, pending fuller treatment after field study. A scientific study of the subject is important, as style is a function of time and space. What is attempted here is a critical history of art-objects, not their aesthetic appreciation. The problem of authorship and the dating of monuments bristles with difficulties and there is bound to be difference of opinion among scholars, but wherever I differ from others, I have stated my reasons based on unimpeachable evidence and my appreciation of the original sources as in the case of Tiruvaduturai and Kodumbalur. I may mention that some early Chola temples have been built over more ancient Ganga, Bana or Pallava foundations and some temples begun in one reign have been completed in a later reign. According to tradition, there were in the ninth century A.D., 275 Siva temples and 108 Vishnu temples in the Tamil Nadu. Of these, 230 temples were in the original Chola Desa. This will prove that the Cholas were the greatest temple-builders of South India, perhaps even of the whole of India. Some important and early Chola temples have not been included in the survey for lack of adequate historical data, especially epigraphical evidence, for fixing their age. Much of what has survived the ravages of time and the vandals has suffered by unscientific renovation. The use of drab colours over temple walls containing inscriptions of great historical value and sculptures of great artistic merit cannot be too strongly condemned. Modern renovators of temples would do well to ponder over the well-meaning and salutary observations of James Fergusson on the then condition of the Jambukesvaram temple at Tiruvanaikka. He writes; "One of the charms of this temple when I visited it was its purity. Neither whitewash nor red or yellow paint had sullied it, and the time-stain on the warm coloured granite was all that relieved the monotony, but it sufficed, and it was a relief to contemplate it thus after some of the vulgarities I had seen. Now all that is altered like the pagoda at Rameswaram, and more so at Madura (of course before the recent renovation) barbarous vulgarity has done its worst, and the traveller is only too fully justified in the contempt with which he

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speaks of those works of art of a great people which have fallen into the hands of such unworthy successors". It is to be viewed as an expression of outraged artistic sensibility.

I am happy to record that the Government of Tamil Nadu have completed the scientific renovation of the Sokkesvar temple at Kanchi and Gangaikonda Cholisvaram at Kulambandal. It is hoped that the conservation of the twin shrines at Kilaiyur, the temple at Nalur-Mayanam, the temple at Brahmadesam and the Vishnu temple at Ukkal will receive the early attention of the State Department of Archaeology. It is of happy augury that the celebrated temples of Sri Ranganatha at Srirangam and the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur will receive the benefit of scientific conservation with the advice and financial help from the UNESCO.

Some hold the view that "in Hindu temples worship is individual in nature and there is never a congregation worshipping in unison" (V.A. Smith). It is a misconception. In Hindu temples, worship is both individual and congregational. In addition to the daily periodical worship (*kalam*) there it congregational worship during temple-festivals, celebrations of *Virabhisheka, Vijayabhisheka,* coronations, *Hiranyagarbha* and *Tulabhara* ceremonies performed by the Kings of the land, the *bhajans* in the temples and the visits of religious teachers (Acharyas).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler has stated that "like the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean is an essentially unitary culture-pool". The monuments of the Pre-Khmer civilization in the earlier capitals of Funan, the early temples at Bayan, the temple known as Phimeanakas in the city of Angkor Thom, the ruins of the Hindu temples in and around the Isthmus of Kra, the ancient temples in ruins near Prambanam in Java, and those of the Far East have to be carefully studied before mutual borrowings and influences between the two sectors skirting the Bay of Bengal could be established.

None of the standard works of Indian Art and Architecture deals with the early phase of Chola art. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the great Chola historian admits that "in fact Chola architecture and sculpture have remained neglected fields, and comprehensive monographs on the best extant temples are an urgent desideratum". Chola temples recall what Plutarch said of the buildings in the Acropolis in Athens, "they were created in a short time for all time, buildings human in scale, yet suited to the divinity of their Gods". A comprehensive survey of our rich heritage of Chola Art and Architecture on the lines of this book is long overdue.

I am greatly obliged to the Ford Foundation and in particular

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their former representative in India, Dr. Douglas Ensminger and his colleagues for their kind interest in this project and for making available to me a generous grant towards the expenses of this publication which they "considered to be a significant research effort contributing to the preservation of knowledge of an important phase in the development of Indian art."

I am grateful to the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, and its officers, Dr. J. Filliozat, its Director, Prof. F. Gros and Mr P.Z. Pattabiramin, for their valuable help for field study and for their generous supply of the photographs used as illustrations in this book.

I am thankful to the American Academy of Banares, Varanasi, its Director, Dr. Promod Chandra, and his colleague Mr. M. A. Dhaky for their help in the promotion of my project.

The Government of India and the Government of Tamil Nadu have all along given me great help and encouragement and I render them my sincere thanks. The Tamil Nadu Hindu Religious Endowments Board and the Executive officers and the trustees of temples have given me the necessary facilities for the on-the-spot study of the temples. I pay my homage to the Jagadguru of the Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham for his valuable advice and encouragement to my work at every stage. It was he who drew my attention to the Seethesvara temple at Kanchi. I am equally indebted to the heads of the three Saiva Maths of Tamil land for their encouragement to my research studies.

It is very kind of Dr. Karan Singh, Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of India, to have written the Foreword to this book and of Mr. Karl Khandalavala, Editor of Lalit Kala, and Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademy, New Delhi, to have written the Preface. I am under a deep debt of gratitude to both of them.

It is a great pleasure to express my thanks to my brother scholars whose advice I greatly value, Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, Dr. Benjamin Rowland of the Harward University, Dr. James C. Harle of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Mr. B. B. Lal and Mr. M. N. Deshpande of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, Mr. R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. K. G. Krishnan of the Epigraphical Department, Dr. N. Venkataramanyya, Deputy Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and Mr. K. Nagarajan. My son, B. Venkataraman, was all along closely associated with this scheme.

Messrs Thomson Press (India) Limited have done the printing of the book admirably well and expeditiously. In particular, I appreciate greatly the valuable services of Mr. R. S. Rawal and the staff

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of the Production Department in doing this fine piece of work in record time.

I thank Mr. R. N. Chhabra of the Calcutta Giris Half Tone Co. for having made the blocks for the illustrations in this book.

I have great pleasure in expressing my sincere thanks to Mr. P. H. Patwardhan for including this book as a publication of the Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi.

It is very kind of Mr. S. Balakrishnan and Mr. V. Natarajan to have read and corrected the proofs of my book, and Mr. K. Radhakrishnan to have undertaken the tedious work of preparing the Index. I am deeply thankful to them.

I have received considerable technical help from Mr. G. Sundaresan, Mr. D. N. Dube, Mr. N. C. Kapur, Mr. R. S. Varma, Mr. K. K. Malhotra and Mr. A. Govindan Kutti. A few other friends who prepared the plans and the map would like to be anonymous; my debt to them is all the greater for it.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not place on record the valuable help and cooperation of my sons Natarajan, Venkataraman and Ramachandran and all the other members of my family including the young and the old in this arduous labour of love.

CI/9, Humayun Road
New Delhi,
30th January, 1971.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

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Map, Sketch, Plans and Illustrations

1. Map : Chola Kingdom under Parantaka I.
2. Sketch* : Component parts of a vimana (Kodumbalur Murvarkoyil).
   (*Courtesy of P.O. Sompura and M.A. Dhaky)
3. Plans : (i) Tiruvaduturai : Gomuktisvaram or Masilamanisvaram, (ii) Nangavaram : Sundaresvarar temple, (iii) Tiruvarur : Achalesvaram or Araneri Isvaram, (iv) Uraiyur : Tantonrisvaram.

Description of Plates

Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
		PARANTAKA I	
1.	Allur	Pasupati Isvaram	Sri vimana
2.	Allur	Pasupati Isvaram	Chandesvarar
3.	Tiruvisalur	Sivayoganathasvamin temple	Dakshinamurti
4.	Tiruvisalur	Sivayoganathasvamin temple	Astradevar
5.	Kumaravayalur	Agnisvarar temple	Nataraja and consort
6.	Andanallur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Bhairavar
7.	Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	Ujjivanathar temple	Brahma
8.	Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	Ujjivanathar temple	Durga
9.	Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	Ujjivanathar temple	Ardhanarisvarar
10.	Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	Ujjivanathar temple	Bhikshatanar
11.	Kodumbalur	Muchukundesvar temple	Sri vimana
12.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Sri vimana
13.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Ganapati
14.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Lingodbhavar
15.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Brahma
16.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Durga
17.	Kilappaluvur	Pasupatisvaram	Dvarapala
18.	Kilappaluvur	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple	Tripurantakar and Tripurasundari
19.	Nangavaram	Sundaresvarar temple	Sri vimana
20.	Nangavaram	Sundaresvarar temple	Sub-shrine of Ganapati
21.	Nangavaram	Sundaresvarar temple	Ganapati

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
22.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Vishnu
23.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Mahesvari
24.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Vaishnavi
25.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Dvarapala
26.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Dvarapala
27.	Nangavaram	: Sundaresvarar temple	: Bhogesvari
28.	Somur	: Somesvarar temple	: Sri vimana
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32.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Sri vimana
33.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Ganapati
34.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
35.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Brahma
36*.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Hiranyakasipu
37*.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Nataraja
38*.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Bhuvaraha
39*.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Kirata and Arjuna
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40.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Dvarapala
41.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Dvarapala
42.	Pullamangai	: Brahmapurisvarar temple	: Koshta-pancharam
43.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamansivarar or Gomuktisvarar temple	: Adhishthana (moulded basement)
44.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Agastyar
45.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Ganapati
46.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Ligodbhavar

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
47.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Brahma
48.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Durga
49.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Karralip-pichchan, the builder of the temple
50.	Tiruvaduturai	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Dvarapala
51.	Tirukkaruhavur (Tirukkalavur)	: Mullaivanesvarar temple	: Sri vimana (side view)
52.	Tiruchchennampundi	: Sadaiyar temple	: Sri vimana
53.	Tirukkaruhavur	: Mullaivanesvarar temple	: Ganapati
54.	Tirukkaruhavur	: Mullaivanesvarar temple	: Ardhanarisvarar
55.	Tirukkaruhavur	: Mullaivanesvarar temple	: Brahma
56.	Gramam (Mundisvaram)	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Sri vimana
57.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Parantaka I's inscription
58.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Ganapati
59.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Dakshinamurti (original, mutilated figure)
60.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Vishnu
61.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Brahma
62.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Durga
63.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Bhairavar (sub-shrine?)
64.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Durga (a loose figure)
65.	Gramam	: Sivalokanathar temple	: Surya (sub-shrine?)
66.	Tirunamanallur (Tirunavalur)	: Bhaktajanesvarar temple	: Sri vimana
67.	Tirunamanallur	: Bhaktajanesvarar temple	: Parantaka I's inscription
68.	Tirunamanallur	: Bhaktajanesvarar temple	: Kannaradevar's inscription
69.	Tirunamanallur	: Bhaktajanesvarar temple	: Rishabhantakar
70.	Tirunamanallur	: Bhaktajanesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar (bronze)
71.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Sri vimana

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
72.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Parantaka I's inscription (20th year)
73.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
74.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Parantaka I's inscription (28th year foundation inscription)
75.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Arunachalesvarar (Siva as a yogi)
76.	Erumbur	: Kadambavanesvarar temple	: Brahma
77.	Kattumannargudi Udaiyargudi	: Anantisvarar temple	: Sri vimana
78.	Kattumannargudi Udaiyargudi	: Anantisvarar temple	: Temple, side view
79.	Kattumannargudi Udaiyargudi	: Anantisvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar (stray stone sculpture)
80.	Kattumannargudi Udaiyargudi	: Anantisvarar temple	: Sambandar (bronze)
81.	Tiruvamattur	: Abhiramesvarar temple	: Temple, side view
82.	Tiruvamattur	: Abhiramesvarar temple	: Brahma
83.	Tiruvamattur	: Abhiramesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar
84.	Tiruvandar Koyil (Vadugur)	: Panchanadisvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
85.	Tiruvandar Koyil	: Panchanadisvarar temple	: Brahma
86.	Tiruvandar Koyil	: Panchanadisvarar temple	: Durga
87.	Tiruvandar Koyil	: Panchanadisvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar (Later insertion)
88.	Kilur (near Tiruk-koyilur)	: Virattanesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
89.	Kilur	Virattanesvarar temple	: Brahma
90.	Kilur	: Virattanesvarar temple	: Chandesvarar
91.	Kilur	: Virattanesvarar temple	: Appar (bronze)
92.	Tondamanad	: Adityesvaram temple (*pallippadi* temple)	: Sri vimana
		SUNDARA CHOLA AND ADITYA II	
93.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Sri vimana (one of the two existing shrines before renovation)

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
94.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Sri vimana (two shrines after renovation)
95.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Balasubrahmanyar (stray stone)
96.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Jyeshtha devi (stray stone)
97.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Harihara
98.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Kalarimurti
99.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Ardhanarisvarar
100.	Kodumbalur	: Muvarkoyil	: Vinadhara Dakshinamurti
101.	Kodumbalur		: Tripurantaka (stone, treasure trove)
102.	Kodumbalur		: Tripurasundari (stone, treasure trove)
103.	Kilaiyur	: Avanikandarpa Isvaram	: Sundara Chola's 10th year inscription
104.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Sri vimana
105.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Agastya
106.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Ganapati
107.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Dakshinamurti
108.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Lingodbhavar
109.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Brahma
110.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Durga
111.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Bhikshatanar
112.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Kankalamurti
113.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Kalarimurti (later insertion)
114.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Soma-skanda
115.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Ganapati
116.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Chandrasekharar (Siva)
117.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Nataraja
118.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Tani-Amman (Uma)
119.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Sambandar (dancing in joy)
120.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Sundaramurti
NOS. 114 TO 120, BRONZES			
121.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Rama and Mayaman
122.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Chandesvarar cutting off his father's feet for his disrespect to Linga.
123.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Nataraja
124.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Gajasamharamurti
125.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Kalarimurti and Markandeyar
126.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Kartikeya on peacock
127.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Chandesvanugrahamurti
128.	Kamarasavalli	: Karkotakesvaram	: Sundaramurti and Paravainachchiyar

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Plate No.	Place	Temple	Description
NOS. 121 TO 128; PANELS OF MINIATURE-SCULPTURES			
129.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
130.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
131.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Brahma
132.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Durga
133.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Dvarapala
134.	Velaichcheri	: Dandisvarar temple	: Dvarapala
135.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Agastya
136.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Ganapati
137.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Lingodbhavar with makara-torana
138.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Brahma
139.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Durga
140.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Dakshinamurti
141.	Punjai	: Naltunai Isvaram	: Nataraja (bronze)
142.	Tanjavur Art Gallary		Sasta and his consorts (bronze)
143.	Tanjavur Art Gallary		Sasta and his consorts (stone)
144.	Kappalur	: Kaliyaditta Vishnugriham	: Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman (bronze)
145.	Tandantottam	: Natanapurisvarar temple	: Soma-skanda
146.	Tandantottam	: Natanapurisvarar temple	: Uma
147.	Tandantottam	: Natanapurisvarar temple	: Subrahmanya and Devasena
148.	Tandantottam	: Natanapurisvarar temple	: Chandesvarar
		UTTAMA CHOLA	
149.	Govindaputtur (Govandaputtur)	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram (Tiru-vijayamangai)	: Sri vimana
150.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Adhishthana (mouldings)
151.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Ganapati
152.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Vishnu
153.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Brahma
154.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Durga (original devakoshta)
155.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Bhikshatanar
156.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Kalarimurti *(later insertion)*
157.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Dvarapala

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
158.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Dvarapala
159.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Ganapati
160.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Nataraja
161.	Govindaputtur	: Gangajathadharar Isvaram	: Nandikesvarar and Urmiladevi (consort)
NOS. 159 TO 161, BRONZES			
162.	Konerirajapuram (Tirunallam)	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Nataraja
163.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Ganapati
164.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Agastya
165.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
166.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar
167.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Gandaradittya worshipping the Linga of Tirunallam Udaiyar
168.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Sembiyan Mahadevi's dedicatory inscription
169.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Nataraja
170.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Nataraja and Sivakami
171.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Tripurantaka and Tripurasundari
172.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Kalyanasundarar
173.	Konerirajapuram	: Uma-Mahesvarar temple	: Bhogesvari
NOS. 169 TO 173, BRONZES			
174.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Ganapati
175.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
176.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: *Adhishthana*
177.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
178.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar
179.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Ganga-Visarjanamurti

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
180.	Aduturai	: Apatsahayesvarar temple	: Gandaraditya (?) worshipping the Linga
181.	Kuttalam	: Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple	: Appar
182.	Kuttalam	: Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple	: Sundarar
183.	Kuttalam	: Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple	: Manikkavasagar
184.	Kuttalam	: Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple	: Bhogesvari
NOS. 181 TO 184, BRONZES (Sembiyan age)			
185.	Tirunaraiyur	: Siddhesvarasvamin temple	: Nataraja (bronze)
186.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Sri vimana (western side)
187.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Bhikshatanar
188.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Jyeshthadevi
189.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Balasubrahamanya
190.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Saptamatrikas a, b, c = Brahmi, Mahesvari, Kaumari d, e, f = Varahi, Indrani, Chamunda g = Vaishnavi
191.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Durga
192.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Nataraja and Sivakami Amman (bronze)
193.	Sembiyan Mahadevi	: Kailasanathar temple	: Sembiyan Mahadevi (stone-portrait)
194.	Karuntattangudi (Karandai)	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Sri vimana (south side)
195.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Koshtapancharam
196.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar (original sculpture)
197.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Durga (original sculpture)
198.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Vasishtar (Agastyar ?)
199.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Balasubrahmanya
200.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar with Rishipatni

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
201.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Sambandar
202.	Karuntattangudi	: Vasishtesvarar temple	: Kalarimurti
NOS. 198-202; LATER INSERTIONS IN UTTAMA CHOLA PERIOD			
203.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Sri vimana
204.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Temple, side view (pillars)
205.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Ganapati
206.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Agastya
207.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
208.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
209.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Brahma
210.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Ardhanarisvarar
211.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Dvarapala
212.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Dvarapala
213.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Durga
214.	Anangur	: Agastyesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar
215.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Sri vimana
216.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Koshtapancharam
217.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Ganapati
218.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Dakshinamurti
219.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Lingodbhavar
220.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Brahma
221.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Durga
222.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Dvarapala
223.	Tirukkuruhavur	: Vellidai Isvaram	: Dvarapala
224.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Ganapati
225.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
226.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Nataraja
227.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
228.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Brahma

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*description*
229.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Bhikshatanar
230.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Kankalamurti
231.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Durga
232.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Nagaraja
233.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Ganapati
234.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Kalyanasundaramurti
235.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Siva and Parvati (Pradoshamurti)
236.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Chandesvarar
237.	Tirumananjeri	: Udvahanesvarar temple	: Manikkavasagar

NOS. 233 TO 237, BRONZES

238.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Sri vimana

with the original *devakoshta* of Lingodbhavar in the centre (with the sculptures inserted in niches on both sides)

239.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Ardhanarisvarar (later insertion)
240.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Hariharar (?) (later insertion)
241.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: (*Torana* over the *deva-koshta* Kalayanasundarar group in the centre)
242.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Bhogesvari
243.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
244.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Nataraja
245.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Dakshinamurti
246.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Agastya
247.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Gandaraditya worshipping Linga (later insertion)
248.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Kalayanasundarar
249.	Tiruvelvikkudi	: Manavalesvarar temple	: Tani-amman

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
NOS. 242, 248 AND 249, BRONZES			
250.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: The two Sri vimanas. ((i) The main temple, and (ii) Sakalabhuvanesvarar temple Ilangoyil or Balalayam)
251.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple (main temple)	: Sri vimana (apsidal)
252.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Torana
Two forms of Nataraja—(1) four-armed, ananda-tandava form with Sivakami: (2) Nataraja with eight arms (as in the Western Chalukya region)			
253.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Natarajar and Sivakami Amman (bronze)
254.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Ganapati
255.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Lingodbhavar
256.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Brahma
257.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Gangadharar with Parvati
258.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Rishabhantikamurti
259.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Durga
260.	Tirumiyachchur	: Muyarchinadesvarar temple	: Chandesvarar
261.	Pennadam	: Pralayakalesvarar temple apsidal (middle Chola period ?)	: Sri vimana
262.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram or Araneri Isvaram	: Sri vimana
263.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Ganapati
264.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Agastiya
265.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Dakshinamurti
266.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Lingodbhava
267.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Brahma
268.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Ardhanarisvarar
269.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Bhikshatanar
270.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Durga
271.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Dvarapala
272.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Dvarapala

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
273.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	: Attendant deities (Rishis?)
274.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	
275.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	
276.	Tiruvarur	: Achalesvaram	
277.	Mayuram	: Mayurnadasvamin temple	: Durga (Sembiyan age)
278.	Vedaranyam	: Vedaranyesvarar temple	: Nataraja and Sivakami Amman
279.	Vriddhachalam	: Vriddhagirisvarar temple (Palamalai-nathar)	: Nataraja (bronze)
280.	Vriddhachalam	: Vriddhagirisvarar temple	: Bhogesvari (bronze)

NOS. 277–280, SEMBIYAN AGE

281.	Tiruvidandai	: Varahaperumal temple	: Adi Varaha Perumal
282.	Tiruvidandai	: Varahaperumal temple	: Ganapati (Tumbikkai Alvar)
283.	Tiruvidandai	: Varahaperumal temple	: Purusha (Vishnu)
284.	Tiruvidandai	: Varahaperumal temple	: Satya (Vishnu)
285.	Tiruvidandai	: Varahaperumal temple	: Vishnu-Durga
286.	Paramesvaramangalam	: Senbakesvarar temple	: Sri vimana
287.	Paramesvaramangalam	: Senbakesvarar temple	: Ganapati
288.	Paramesvaramangalam	: Senbakesvarar temple	: Virabhadra
289.	Paramesvaramangalam	: Senbakesvarar temple	: Chandesvarar
290.	Paramesvaramangalam	: Senbakesvarar temple	: Surya
291.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Sri vimana
292.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Adhishthana (moulded basement)
293.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: (Torana Linga-worship)
294.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: (Torana, Gajasamhara-murti)
295.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Ganapati
296.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Nataraja and Sivakami Amman (bronze)

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
297.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Valampuri-Ganapati (stray sculpture)
298.	Vada-Tirumullaivayil	: Masilamanisvarar temple	: Surya
299.	Melpadi	: Arinjigai Isvaram	: Sri vimana
300.	Melpadi	: Arinjigai Isvaram *(Pallippadai)*	: Rajaraja I's inscription (29th regnal year)
301.	Melpadi	: Arinjigai Isvaram	: Balasubrahamanya *(griva-koshta* sculpture)
302.	Melpadi	: Arinjigai Isvaram	: Vinadhara-Dakshina-murti *(griva-koshta* sculpture)

Supplement to Early Chola Art, Pt. I

1.	Koyil Tevarayanpettai (E.C.A. I pp. 179-183)	*Sri Matsyapurisvarar temple*
2.	,,	Sri vimana temple (side view) *Adishthana* and *Koshtapanjaram*
3.	,,	Ganpati
4.	,,	Vishnu
5.	,,	Brahma
6.	,,	Durga
7.	Turaiyur (Tudaiyur)	*Sri Vishamangalesvarar temple* Sri vimana
8.	,,	Koshtapancharam
9,	,,	Inscription (Tudaiyur and Tirukkadambattura Mahadevar)
10.	,,	Sarasvati
11.	,,	Vinadhara Dakshinamurti
12.	,,	Siva-Parvati-Alinginamurti
13.	,,	Chandesvarar
14.	,,	Addorsed bulls
15.	,,	Nataraja (Ananda Tandava)
16.	Uraiyur	*Sri Tantonrisvaram* Ardhanarisvarar
17.	,,	Brahma
18.	,,	Chandesvarar
19 and 20	,,	Two Dvarapalas

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I Parantaka I (Madirai-Konda Parakesari)
(A.D. 907 to 955)

Introduction

Among the Early Chola kings, Parantaka I was the greatest conqueror. The Kanyakumari Inscription of a later Chola king, Vira Rajendra, says of him : "He was the abode of the Goddess of Valour (*Vira-Sri*). He destroyed the Pandya king together with his whole army, took all his wealth, and burnt his capital Madurai, for which achievement he received the title of *Madurantaka*. This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the hitherto unconquered king Krishnaraja II and thereby augmented his own glory; in recognition of this feat, he was entitled *Vira Chola*. Parantaka, respected by all kings, caused his armies to cross the sea and defeat the king of Simhala (Ceylon) who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the true surname of *Simhalantaka*. Who would stand comparison with this king, the abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the sole abode of Prowess? The destroyer of his enemies, Parantaka brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like *Vira-narayanam* just as Brahma created *Svarga*, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned brahmans."

Rajasimha II, the last ruler of the First Pandyan Empire was finally defeated and forced to seek asylum first in Ceylon and then in Kerala. The fact that Parantaka I penetrated into the southernmost parts of the Pandya country is attested by the Suchindram inscription of the 34th year of a Parakesari (which should be ascribed to him and not to Vijayalaya as was done by Hultzsch). However, his claim of the

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conquest of Ilam (Ceylon) must be taken as merely an empty boast, though he did carry the war into Ceylon.

In the north, the region of Tondaimandalam was conquered. After the days of Nandivarman III, three Pallava rulers : Nrpatunga (41 years, A. D. 855-896), Kampavarman (32 years, A. D. 878-910) and Aparajita (18 years, A. D. 879-897) were in possession of different parts of Tondaimandalam. The Karandai Tamil Sangam copper-plates, of the 8th year of Rajendra I (Epi. Rep. Section A, 1949-50, nos. 57 and 58, pp. 3-5), mention that Parantaka I vanquished a Pallava king and appropriated his kingdom (*rashtrani*), wealth (*vasuni*) and vehicles (*vahanani*). According to the scheme of chronology adopted by us, it is likely that it was Kampavarman, and not Nrpatunga, who was overthrown by Parantaka I. The Vaidumbas and the Banas were also subjugated. With the decline of the Pallava power following the battle of Sri-Purambiyam, the Bana chiefs, Mavali Banaraya *alias* Vijayaditya Prabhu and his son Vikramaditya, seem to have resumed independence till they were overthrown by Parantaka I between A. D. 898 and 910. Their short-lived independence is proved by the existence of their inscriptions dated 820, 827 and 832 in the Saka era instead of the regnal year of their overlord. The defeated Bana chiefs would appear to have sought the help of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II (A. D. 879-912). It was after his victory (about A.D. 911-12) over the Banas and the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II at Vellala (Tiruvallam) that Parantaka I seems to have assumed the title of *Vira Chola* which is mentioned both in his 9th year inscription at Sholingur (9 of 1896: E. I., IV, p.221) and in the Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira Rajendra. Following this victory, Parantaka I bestowed the Bana country and also the titles of *Sembiyan Mahabali Vanarayan* and *Banadhirja* on his

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Western Ganga ally, Prithvipati II *alias* Hastimalla. This should have happened before the 6th year of Parantaka I since these titles find mention in an inscription of that year at Pullamangai (559 of 1921 : E. I., XXVI, no. 10). For the greater part of the reign of Parantaka I, the Chola empire extended from Nellore in the north to Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin) in the south. Towards the latter part of his reign, however, there suddenly appeared a formidable foe, the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III (A. D. 940-968). He avenged the earlier Rashtrakuta disaster of Krishna II at the hands of Parantaka I by conquering the northern part of the Chola empire and ruling it for about a quarter of a century. His latest inscription of his 28th regnal year is found at Tirunamanallur.

As is usual in *prasastis,* the Anbil plates (of Sundara Chola) also describe the qualities of Parantaka I in glowing terms : "In him, valour had its goal, skill was incarnate, courage had a (steady) hold, goodness found a protector, the earth had a good king and poetic art a proper seat, skill in the fine arts found a common shelter, and his fame caused astonishment in all quarters."

Parantaka I was a staunch devotee of Nataraja of Chidambaram. The Tiruvalangadu copper-plates describe him as a "bee at the lotus-feet of *Purantaka* (Siva)" and add that he built for Purari, the Lord of the *silver* mountain (of Kailasa), a *golden* house called the *Dabhra-sabha.* Thus Chidambaram became *Hema-sabha, Hiranya-sabha, Kanaka-sabha* or *Pon-ambalam,* and Parantaka acquired the tilte of *Pon veinda Perumal:* 'one who covered with gold' (the roof of the Dabhra or Chit-sabha of Chidambaram). From this time on, Nataraja (or Adavallan, to give Him His picturesque Tamil name) became the *kula-nayakam* (family deity) of the Cholas.

During the glorious reign of Parantaka I, the arts

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of peace received as much attention as deeds of war; in particular, old brick temples were rebuilt of stone and enriched, and new ones in stone came to be constructed.[1]

TEMPLES OF PARANTAKA I's TIME

Inscriptional References

Tiruchy District

1. Allur : Panchanadisvarar and Pasupatisvarar temples. Epi. Rep. nos. 365 to 385 of 1903. E. I., XXVI, no. 8, pp.82-84. SII., VIII, nos. 674-700.
2. Anda(va)nallur : Vata-tirthanathar temple. Epi. Rep., nos. 348 to 364 of 1903.
3. Sittoor (Sirraiyur) : Tiru Agnisvarar temple. Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State, nos. 24 to 26. Inscriptions in the Puduk-

[1]Parantaka I waged two wars against the Pandyas; the first before the 3rd regnal year when he assumed the title of *Madirai konda*. Another took place at *Velur* before his 12th year after which he assumed the title of *Maduraiyum Ilamum konda*. Then Parantaka I was making active preparations for a third war with the Pandyas and also planned the invasion of Ceylon for the capture of the insignia of the Pandyan king. But his hopes were shattered by the attack on the northern border of the Chola empire by the Rashtrakutas. There seem to have occurred however a few encounters between them. This is reflected in an inscription at Vedaranyam. On a *pillar* in front of Thyagaraja shrine within the temple of Tirumaraikkadu (Vedaranyam), there is an unusual inscription of this ruler. It is partly in verse, and the king is described as *Kop-Parantaka* who destroyed the fortifications of the city of Madurai *(madil-madurai-sidaittu)* instead of the usual title of *Madirai-Konda-Kop Parakesari*. The regnal year is expressed as *en-nangil* (eight by four=32). It mentions an encounter between the armies of the Cholas and of the Ceylonese King *(Singalar-Kon)*. The victorious Chola General Gunavan of Idaiyur is said to have halted here on his return from the battlefield and made a gift of a lamp to the Lord of Tirumaraikkadu, meant perhaps as an act of thanksgiving to God (SII XVII, no. 501; AR no. 468–A of 1904).

There is another inscription in this temple of more than common interest depicting the general spirit of religious toleration that prevailed during the period

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		kottai State (Translation), Part I. Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 583-584; and Vol. II, Part II, pp. 1135-1136.
4. Uyyakkondan Tirumalai	:	Ujjivanathar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 95 to 99 of 1892. SII, II, Part III, no. 75. Epi. Rep. nos. 455 to 479 of 1908.
5. Kodumbalur	:	Muchukundesvarar temple. Inscriptions (texts) of the Pudukkottai State. Pudukkottai State Gazetteer, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 1030-1040. My articles in the Journal of Indian Museums : Vol. XIV-XVI, 1958-60 and Vol. XVII-XX, 1961-64 on the date of the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur.
6. Kilappaluvur	:	Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple.

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of Parantaka I. An inscription of his 20th regnal year mentions the existence here of a temple for Vishnu *(Sri Koyil-Vishnukkal)* to the north of the main Siva temple of *Tirumaraikkadu Mahadevar*. It further mentions that one *Vaikhanasa* Sulapani Bhattasali made a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp to this Vaishnavite deity, and that this grant was engraved on a pillar of the *mandapa* in front of the Siva temple of Vedaranyesvarar (SII, XVII, no. 481, AR no. 450 of 1904).

We may add that the same spirit of toleration was in existence at Chidambaram, where the Vaishnavite shrine of Govindaraja was built on the southern side close to the Kanakasabha of Nataraja. The Vaishnavite saints Tirumangai and Kulasekhara Alvars sing in their hymns that the worship of the Vaishnavite deity was in the hands of the Saivite priests of *Tillai Muvayiravar*. Religious intolerance was a feature of a later age.

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		Epi. Rep. nos. 216 to 263 of 1925-26. "Four Chola Temples" by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay.
7. Govindaputtur	:	Ganga-jathadharar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 157 to 194 of 1928-29.
8. Nangavaram	:	Sundaresvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 328 to 347 of 1903. SII, VIII, nos. 637-656.
9. Somur	:	Somesvaram Udaiyar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 198 to 208 of 1917.
10. Nirppalani	:	Valarmatisvarar temple. Inscriptions (texts) of the Pudukkottai State, nos. 30, 154 and 241.
Tanjavur District		
11. Pullamangai	:	Brahmapurisvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 546 to 559 of 1921. "The Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai" by J. C. Harle, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay. "The Early Cola temple at Pullamangai" by J. C. Harle, *Oriental Art,* New Series, Vol. IV, no. 3. (1958).
12. Tiruva(va) duturai	:	Gomuktisvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 101 to 162

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of 1925 and nos. 59 to 72 of 1926.

13. Tirukkalavur (Tirukkarugavur) : Madhuvanesvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 35 to 46 of 1910.

Note : Epi. Rep. nos. 424 to 440 of 1918 have been classified as referring to this temple in the "List of Inscriptions" copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras (up to March 1938): but this is a wrong classification, and the attention of the Government Epigraphist has been drawn to it.

A few uncopied inscriptions here, of the days of Parantaka I, are mentioned in the Mackenzie Manuscripts : South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol. II, nos. 644 to 654, pp. 621 ff. I understand that they have since been copied.

14. Tiruchchennampundi : Sadaiyar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 282 to 303 of 1901. SII, VII, nos. 502-529.

15. Tirukkalittattai : Vedapurisvar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 291 to 303 of 1908. E. I., XII, nos. 16. Epi. Rep. no. 116 of 1896.

South Arcot District

16. Gramam : Sivalokanathasvamin temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 735 to 745 of 1905 and nos. 150 to 198 of 1906. Annual Report for 1905-06 of the Director-general of Archaeology (for a reference to the 36th year of Parantaka I : year of

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		Kaliyuga era also quoted). E. I., VII, p. 195. Epi. Rep. nos. 212 and 226 of 1911.
17. Tirunamanallur (Tirunavalur)	:	Tirut-tondisvaram Udaiyar (Bhaktajanesvarar) temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 325 to 380 of 1902. SII, VII, nos. 954 to 1010. E. I., VII, pp. 132-134.
18. Erumbur	:	Kadambavanesvarar temple (Urumur, Siru Tirukkoyil). Epi. Rep. nos. 379 to 398 of 1913. My article in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, June-Dec., 1939. Lalit Kala no. 13, pp. 16-20.
19. Udaiyargudi (Kattumannargudi)	:	Anantesvarasvamin temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 529 to 627 of 1920.
20. Tiruvamattur	:	Abhiramesvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 402 to 435 of 1903. SII, VIII, nos. 718 to 751. Epi. Rep. nos. 1 to 71 of 1922.
21. Karadi	:	Tirumadap-parai Mahadevar temple and Selliyamman temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 218 to 222 of 1936-37.
22. Siddhalingamadam	:	Vyaghrapadesvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 367 to 431

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		of 1909 and nos. 261 to 265 of 1937.
23. Tiruvandar Koyil	:	Panchanadisvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 359 to 377 of 1917.
24. Kilur (Tirukkovalur)	:	Sri Virattanesvarar temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 230 to 306 of 1902, nos. 3 to 25 of 1905, nos. 200 to 201 of 1935, and nos. 243 to 250 and 253 to 265 of 1934-35. SII, VII, nos. 857 to 935.
25. Bahur (Pondicherry)	:	Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple. The Bahur plates of Nrpatunga Pallava. Epi. Rep. no. 172 of 1902. SII, VII, no. 799. Revue Historique de L'Inde Francaise, 1948, pp. 162-168 and Plates I to IX.
North Arcot District		
26. Solapuram	:	Ruined temples. Epi. Rep. nos. 11 to 15 of 1887, no. 346 of 1901; nos. 421 to 429 of 1902, and nos. 343 to 345 of 1912. SII, I, nos. 53 and 95 to 98. E. I., VII, p. 195. SII, VIII. nos. 7-15
27. Tirumalpuram (Tirumarpperu)	:	Manikanthesvarar temple and Sri Ninrarulina Perumanadigal temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 265 to 344 of 1906. SII, III, nos. 142 and 197.
Chingleput District		
28. Tiruvorriyur	:	Sri Adipurisvarar temple.

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Epi. Rep. nos. 104 to 110 of 1892, nos. 399 to 405 of 1896, nos. 363 to 372 of 1911, nos. 98 to 246 of 1912, no. 79 of 1921, and nos. 162 to 167 of 1938. SII, XIII, no. 149.

29. Madurantakam : Svetaranyesvarar temple and Kodandarama Perumal temple. Epi. Rep. nos. 126 to 138 of 1896, nos. 262 to 263 of 1901 and nos. 391 to 409 of 1922.

Chittoor District (Andhra Pradesh)

30. Tondaimanadu : Kodandaramesvaram or Adityesvaram. Epi. Rep. nos. 230 to 233 of 1903. SII, VIII, no. 529.

General Reference

1. Pullamangai inscription : no. 559 of 1921 : E.I., XXVI, no. 10.
2. The Anbil plates of Sundara Chola.
3. The Tiruvalangadu copper-plate grant of Rajendra I.
4. The Karandai Tamil Sangam copper-plates of (the 8th year of) Rajendra I.
5. The Kanyakumari stone inscription of Vira Rajendra.

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2 Temples of Parantaka I's Time

1. *Panchanadisvaram*
   (Tiru vadagudi Paramesvarar temple)

2. *Pasupatisvaram*
   (Allur Nakkan Koyil)

Allur

Allur is about 6 miles (9.66 km.) from Tiruchy on the main road to Karur running along the southern bank of the Kaveri. There are two Early Chola temples in this village.

1. *Panchanadisvarar temple*
(Tiru Vadagudi Paramesvarar)

The Panchanadisvarar temple lies to the north of the village, close to the main road. The deity enshrined here is called in inscriptions Tiru Vadagudi Paramesvarar or Mahadevar.

On the north base of the *ardhamandapa* there is an inscription of the 6th year of Madiraikonda Ko-Parakesari, i. e., Parantaka I. It registers a gift by Bhuti Madevadigal to this temple of land bought from the Assembly (*Parudaiyar*) of Isanamangalam (371 A of 1903.)

A gift of gold for a lamp to this temple is made by the son of Virasola Ilango Velan in the 5th year of a Rajakesarivarman who may be identified with Gandaraditya. The text of the relevant inscription (366 of 1903 E. I., XXVI, no. 8, pp. 82-84) reads : "..... Virasola Ilango Velan orri Madurantakan mahanar Parantaka devarkkaha....."; but its full bearing is not clear.

This *dvi-tala* temple was perhaps a foundation of the days of Parantaka I, remodelled in the days of Raja-

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raja I and in the subsequent periods.

The *garbhagriha* is 18 ft. (5.49 m.) square. It has plain base-mouldings.There are niches flanked by pilasters on the three closed sides of the *garbhagriha*. The *ardhamandapa* measures 17 ft. (5.18 m.) by 13 ft. 9 in. (4.19 m.). There are two *dvarapalas* in front of it.[1]

2. *Pasupatisvarar temple*
(Allur Nakkan Koyil Paramesvarar)

The deity of this temple is called in the inscriptions Allur Nakkan Koyil Paramesvarar. The temple is situated in the south of the village, 2 miles (1.22 km.) away from the main road, in a big cocoanut *tope* which serves as the threshing-floor for the village.

We are not sure if the inscription of the 12th year of Rajakesarivarman (374 of 1903) refers to Aditya I. Inscriptions of Parantaka I range from his 17th to his 41st years (17th, 18th, 37th, 40th and 41st years corresponding respectively to Epi. Rep. nos. 381, 382, 375, 384 and 373 of 1903.)[2]

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[1]There are some other inscriptions on the walls of this temple belonging to the middle and the later Cholas. One, of the 22nd year of Rajaraja I, refers to a gift of 33 *kalanju* of gold for feeding learned brahmans in the temple. Another, of the 4th year of Rajendra I, refers to an endowment of 5 *kalanju* of gold for feeding brahmans well-versed in the *Vedas* on new-moon days, and the *sabha* of Tiru-Vadagudi agreed to maintain the charity.

A fragmentary inscription of Rajadhiraja I (369 of 1903) mentions a chief called Ohai Udaiyan Kari Udaiyan, an officer in charge of the re-organisation of the administration. It also mentions the installation of a metal image of *Uma-Skanda-sahitam tirumeni* (now generally called *Somaskanda*) and the making of provision for offerings to Nili Vana Vitankar, Pirattiyar, Pillaiyar (Ganapati) and Pasupata devar.

An inscription of the 27th year of Rajadhiraja I refers to a gift of land as *Madabhogam* to Ambalattadi Tirunavukkaraiyan and his descendants for the recitation, in the *mutt* of the temple, of the *Devaram* hymns *(devarat-tiruppadiyam-vinnappam-seyyum)*.

In the 37th year of Kulottunga III, the shrine of the goddess *Dharma-samvardhini*, referred to in inscriptions as Tiruk Kamakkottam Udaiya Nachiyar, was built in the second *prakara* of the temple.

[2]*Allur*

Pasupatisvaram.

On the walls of the main shrine and on those of the *ardhamandapa* there are

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According to one of them, some waste-land and land silted up by the floods of the Kaveri were reclaimed and gifted to Allur Nakkan as *devadana* by the *Urom* of Allur for offerings, services and provision for a lamp. The inscription of the 37th year of Parantaka I mentions a local governing body called the *Allur Talaivoy Sanrom* ("The most learned of Allur" consisting of *eleven members*), which is said to have been greatly concerned over the land silted up by the floods of the Kaveri lying waste for six or seven years, and openly made a bid to see if anyone would buy the land. Thereupon, one Siriyan Pullan came forward, offering to reclaim the land and make it over as a gift to Allur Nakkan Paramesvarar for offerings. The body of the "most learned" then sold the land (of extent 10 *ma sey*) to the said donor, making the land tax-free. The running of village administration by men of high learning (and character) is a matter of great significance; similar bodies are said to have functioned in other centres such as Srinivasanallur, Vedaranyam and Sembiyan Mahadevi in the Early Chola period. These facts bear testimony to the high regard in which learned men were held in that age; this rule by the wise comes very near the ideal set by Plato in his Republic.

The inscription of the 41st year refers to a gift for the singing of *devaram* hymns in the temple.

One Virasola Ilangovelan figures in an inscription of the 3rd year of a Rajakesari (380 of 1903) as well as in one of the 3rd year of a Parakesari (376 of 1903). According to the former, which may be assigned to Rajakesari Gandaraditya, a native of Pudukkudi reclaimed some waste-land and gave it away as a *devadana* to Allur Nakkan Koyil Paramesvarar, with the

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inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 17th regnal year to his 41st year.

SII, VIII—17 year—no. 695, 18 year—no. 696, 37 year—no. 689, 40 year—no. 698, 41 year—no. 686, and Year lost—no. 699.

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permission of Virasola Ilangovelan *alias* Parantaka Kunjara Mallan. And according to the latter, the wife of this chief, Gangamadeviyar by name, committed *sati* (*"tip paikinrar"*) and, prior to her self-immolation, made a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for the reclamation of one-fourth *sey* (land) to be used as an endowment for a lamp which was to be maintained by the temple-priest (*tirukkovil-pattudaiyan*). This inscription may be assigned to the period of Parakesari Arinjaya, the successor of Gandaraditya.

'Mummadi Chola' was a title assumed by Gandaraditya (vide the 6th year inscription of Rajaraja I : 444 of 1918). Now, an officer called Mummadi Sola Ilangovelan figures in a 4th year Parakesari inscription (378 of 1903), and this inscription has also to be attributed to Arinjaya. It mentions that this Mummadi Sola Ilangovelan *alias* Adittan Munaiyaradittar issued a royal order (*sri-mukham*) to the owners of *brahmadeya* lands and to the *nattom* (*brahmadeyak kilavarum nattomum*) for the assignment of one *veli* of land as *devadana* without the eviction of tenants and free of tax (*kudi ninga devadana iraiyiliyaha*). The executor of the royal order (*anatti*) was Avandiya Kovap-Pallavaraiyan *alias* Mayilai Dindan. The members of the local body received the royal order with due honours, ratified it and made the grant.

An inscription of the 17th year of Madiraikonda Rajakesari, which may be assigned to Sundara Chola, relates to a gift of gold to the local temple (377 of 1903).

This temple has to be assigned to the age of Parantaka I. It is an *eka-tala* stone temple (Pls. 1 and 2). The interior of the *garbhagriha* is a square 9 ft. (2.74 m.) side and its walls are 4 ft. 8 in. (1.42 m.) thick. The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four (later) pillars and measures 11 ft. 4 in. (3.45 m.) by 7 ft. 5 in. (2.26 m.). There are original *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

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The *mukhamandapa.* a later structure, measures 12 ft. 3 in. (3.73 m.) by 10 ft. (3.05 m.). It is also supported by four pillars. The *nandi* has been shifted from its original position and placed in the *mukhamandapa.* The *sikhara* is bulbous and, though heavily stuccoed, seems to be of stone. All the *devakoshta* images are missing, but the original figure of Dakshinamurti now lies mutilated under the shade of a mango tree close by. Inside the *mukhamandapa,* there are some fine, old sculptures of Bhikshatanar, Chandesvarar, Karttikeya and Surya.

Vata Tirthanathar temple
(Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar)

Andanallur

Andanallur, called Andavanallur in inscriptions, lies on the road from Tiruchy to Karur, between Allur and Tiruchchendurai and about 7 miles and 3 furlongs (11.87 km.) from Tiruchy . It has an ancient Chola temple called the temple of Vata Tirthanathar or Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar (in Tamil).

On its walls are to be found ten inscriptions of a Parakesari without epithets of identification, ranging from his 10th to his 25th years. The chief donor figuring in most of them is one Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan. Two consorts of his also find mention : Puliyur Nattadigal (348 to 1903) and Singan Nimmadigal (357 of 1903). In the 10th year of Parakesari, Puliyur Nattadigal made an endowment of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to the Mahadevar of Andavanallur in Kiliyur *nadu.* The amount was deposited with the *urom* of Andavanallur who agreed to supply one *ulakku* of ghee every day.

An inscription of the 11th year of Parakesari (359 of 1903) mentions the same chief, Sembiyan Irukkuvel; he claims to have *built* the temple of Tiru Alandurai Perumanadigal at Andavanallur. He obtained the permission of the king through a petition to assign to this

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temple three veli of land which he had bought and converted into a *kudineekkiya devadana* (gift of land to a temple with the right to evict the previous tenants). By a royal order (*sri-mukham*) issued in the 18th year of Parakesari, the *same* land was made over to the local Chola officer, Araiyan Virasolan, for being assigned as a *devadana* gift to the temple (*kudi neekkiya devadana kanik kadamaiyaha*), and the latter did so : the inscription of the 25th year of Parakesari (360 of 1903) registers the transfer of this gift of the three *veli* of land to the local temple by that officer.

An inscription of the 14th year of Parakesari (349 of 1903) registers a gift as *devadana* of a garden-land bought from a brahman of Isanamangalam by Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan, and another of the same year (358 of 1903) mentions the construction of this temple of stone by this chief. After the completion of the building of this temple of stone, the chief performed the consecration ceremony (*Jalasamprokshanam*) and made a gift of seven *veli* and a half of land as *devadana* in the village of Mullikkurumbu for various temple services : *sennadai* (food oblations), eight sacred perpetual lamps, four *manis* (temple servants), two conch-blowers, two trumpet blowers, two flower gardens (pallittamam=flowers), one person to beat the gong (*segandigai*), *sandal paste* coatings for the deity, one *ulakku* of ghee daily, the sounding of *karandigai* and the singing of *Tiruppadiyam* (*Devaram* hymns).

The relevant lines are :—"Andavanallurt-Tiruvalandurai Paramesvararkku Sembiyan Irukkuvel ayina Pudi Parantakan *Karrali eduttu Jalasamprokshanam seyda nanru devadanam seydu kudutta* ur.... Mullikkurumbu...."(SII, III, Pt. III, no. 139).

Thus, it will be clear that the chief who figures as the builder in *stone* of the temple of Andanallur is mentioned in *Parakesari* inscriptions, referring to one and the same king, from his 10th to his 18th year;

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and the completion of the transfer of the land-gift made by the builder was finally effected in the 25th year of the *same* Parakesari. The only Parakesari with such high regnal years (up to 25) in the Early Chola period is Parantaka I. There is a thread of unity running through all the above mentioned records and hence I am inclined to attribute all the inscriptions referred to above to the period of Parantaka I.

There is yet another point in confirmation of the above conclusion. In an inscription of the 15th year of Parakesari (38 of 1895), there is a reference to a gift of land bought from the *Urar* of Sattanur in Uraiyur Kurram for a lamp to the local temple, made by Pudi Madevadigal, consort of Kannaradeva : this Kannaradeva is identical with a son of Aditya I and brother of Parantaka I.

Hence, in my opinion, all the records of Parakesarivarman, even though without distinguishing epithets, should be attributed only to Parantaka I; and the temple of Andanallur should have been built of stone in or before his 11th regnal year.[3]

The *garbhagriha* measures 18 ft. 6 in. (5.64 m.) from north to south and 14 ft. 2 in. (4.32 m.) from east to west. There is an *ardhamandapa* projecting 12 ft. 6 in. (3.81 m.) in front (east to west). There is also a later *mukhamandapa* extending 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m.) further. The basement has plain mouldings. The *vimana* is two-tiered (*dvi-tala*) and the *sikhara* is bulbous (Pl. 6).

Tiru Agnisvarar temple

Sittur (Sirraiyur)

Sittur is a village in the Tiruchy district (and in the old Pudukkottai State) about 9 miles (14.48 km.)

[3]I am unable to accept the equation of Pudi Parantakan with Parantaka, son of Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur, suggested by the Government Epigraphist (vide Epi. Rep. 1908, para. 91). I am equally unable to accept the attribution of the 14th year Parakesari inscription to *Uttama Chola* (Epi. Rep. no. 358 of 1903, SII, III, no. 139; and "The Colas" by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, First Edition, p. 471).

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from the town of Pudukkottai, on the Perumanadu-Konnaiyur road. According to the local inscriptions, the place was called Sirraiyur, a *brahmadeya* in Kudalur *nadu,* and the deity of the temple was called Tiru Agnis-varattup-Paramesvarar.

The earliest inscription of this temple is one of the 4th year of a Rajakesarivarman; it records a gift of three *veli* of land for food-offerings and the maintenance of drummers during the *sri-bali* ceremony,[4] by a Kodumbalur chief called Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Parantakan Virasolan.

Now, in the 5th year of a Rajakesarivarman, and on the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Kanya,* this chief made grants to the temples at Allur (366 of 1903) and at Palur (346 and 348 of 1918). Again, on the day of a lunar eclipse which occurred in the *Uttirattadi nakshatra* in the month of *Kanya* in the reign of a Rajakesarivarman, he made a grant to the temple of Nirppalani, while on a visit to the temple at Tirupparait-turai; the date of this inscription has been stated by the Editor of the "Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkot-tai State" (no.30) to be the *tenth* year of Rajakesarivar-man. On the strength of the astronomical data furnished by the inscriptions regarding the lunar eclipse mentioned in connection with the Allur and Palur grants, the late A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar held that the 5th year of Rajakesari would correspond to A. D. 954, September 15, and therefore he identified the Rajakesari of the inscriptions with Gandaraditya, fixing his accession in the year A. D. 949–50. He further argued : "A record from Nirppalani in the Pudukkottai State said

[4]*Sri-bali* ceremony : The ritual of *Sri-bali* in temples is a very important one. In this, an image (usually a particular form of Siva or Vishnu) is taken out in procession within the temple-precincts or right round the village. This ceremony is announced by the beating of drums, sounding of trumpets and other musical instruments. An inscription in the Kumbhesvara temple at Kalattur (North Arcot district) mentions that Pasupatamurti was taken round the village on Sundays in performance of the *sribali* ceremony and a special grant of 37 *kasu* was made for that purpose (Epi. Rep. no. 157 of 1916, p. 118).

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to be dated in the 10th year of a Rajakesarivarman states that Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Parantaka Virasolan, who is identical with the chief figuring in the Palur inscriptions noted above, made a gift to the temple at Nirppalani, while he visited the temple at Tiruppalatturai (Tirupparaitturai) during a lunar eclipse which occurred in the *Uttirattadi nakshatra* in the month of *Kanya*. As the other details are identical, *the regnal year read as* 10 *appears to be a mistake for* 5, and the *Uttirattadi nakshatra* must have also been the star quoted in the portion also in the Allur inscription (366 of 1903). It is quite possible also that the king (mistake for 'chief') had bestowed gifts to the four temples at Allur, Palur, Nirppalani and Tiruppalatturai (Tirupparaitturai), all situated near to each other, on the same religious occasion of a lunar eclipse, while staying at the last-mentioned temple. A. D. 954, September 19, Friday, with *Uttirattadi nakshatra* may therefore be selected as the date of these three records. As this day fell in the 5th year of the king Rajakesarivarman, the date of his accession would lie between A.D. 949, September 16 and A.D. 950, September 15."

The '10th year of Rajakesarivarman' would not suit Gandaraditya, for he does not seem to have ruled for more than eight years. The other alternative is to assign the Nirppalani record to Sundara Chola; but it has been computed that no lunar eclipse answering to the given description could have occurred in the 10th year of Sundara Chola.

On the premise that the date of the Nirppalani record is conjectural and wrong, K. R. Srinivasan suggested that the lunar eclipse would better suit the date A.D. 955, September 4, and held that the 6th year is preferable to the 5th year for assigning to the Nirppalani record. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar follows this lead and adopts the 6th year in his account in

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"The Manual of the Pudukkottai State". But this date will conflict with the records of Allur and Palur which record the eclipse in the 5th regnal year and whose dates are unimpeachable; further, to rely on any *one* criterion in the matter of identification is hazardous.[5]

The only satisfactory solution therefore seems to be to accept the 5th year for the Nirppalani record as well, and to identify the Rajakesari of all the inscriptions with Gandaraditya. This temple perhaps came into existence in the latter part of the reign of Parantaka I, but surely prior to the 4th year of Gandaraditya. It may thus be assigned to the period of either Parantaka I or Gandaraditya.

There are a few inscriptions of Rajaraja I, which mention gifts for lamps and food-offerings to the deity. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that inscriptions could be engraved on the walls of the temple only with the permission of the local *sabha* (*"Kallil vettu-vichchom sabhaiyom"*).

The temple faces the west, and is situated in the midst of a palmyra grove. The original temple consisted only of the *garbhagriha* with the tower over it and the *ardhamandapa*.

The *garbhagriha* is 18 ft. (5.49 m.) square in the exterior and 8 ft. (2.44 m.) square in the interior. The walls are 5 ft. (1.52 m.) thick. The mouldings of the basement are plain. The pilasters on the walls of the

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[5]Inscriptions in which Mahimalaya Irukkuvel figures :

Kudumiyamalai	3rd year of Rajakesari,		Puduk. Insc. no. 22.
Sittur	4th year	,,	Puduk. Insc. no. 24.
Allur	5th year	,,	366 of 1903
Palur	5th year	,,	346 and 348 of 1918.
Nirppalani	10th year	,,	Puduk. Insc. no. 30.

The last date is conjectural and has to be amended into 5th year.

Vide : E.I., XXVI, no. 8

Inscriptions (texts) of the Pudukkottai State, nos. 22, 24, and 30; Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State (Translation), Part I, pp. 27–8; and Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 583–4 on Sittur and Nirppalani.

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central shrine are octagonal, with well-formed *kalasam, kumbham, padmam* and *palagai.* The corbels are decorated on the underside with roll-ornament with a slightly raised median band in the centre.

The pilasters of the *ardhamandapa* are four-sided, and their corbels are plain and bevelled.

Below the cornice and above the corbels, we have a frieze of *bhutaganas* interspersed with tigers (the Chola crest), lions, bulls, elephants and swans. The cornice is thick, single-arched and adorned with *kudus* crowned with trefoiled heads. The lower edges of the cornice are decorated with semi-circles, and, at each corner, there is an elegant piece of scroll-work. There are *devakoshtas* on the outer walls of both the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa.*

Above the *yali*-frieze, there is now a new *sikhara.* This temple is now undergoing renovation by the Archaeological Department. The *griva, sikhara* and *stupi* should have been four-sided as in the case of the Tirukkattalai and Kodumbalur temples.

The *devakoshtas* have *toranas* above them. Most of the original sculptures of these niches are not found in their positions. The images of Brahma and Vishnu were found half-buried in the ground; that of Dakshinamurti, too small for the niche, should be a later insertion.

42.11

The *ardhamandapa* measures 12 ft. (3.66 m.) by 9 ft. 3 in. (2.82 m.) inside. It is crossed by a beam supported by two pillars in the centre. Some years back, the *ardhamandapa* threatened to collapse because of the cross-beam giving way. The then Pudukkottai State Durbar arranged to put up two buttresses on the two sides to keep the building intact. These ugly structures have since been removed, and repairs are being carried out by the Department of Archaeology. How we wish the same care and attention are given to the other Early Chola monuments of South India!

At a later stage, a *mukhamandapa,* 20 ft. (6.10 m.)

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square and an *Amman* (Goddess) temple were added, but they are now only a heap of ruins. A fine *Nandi* of the 10th century is found on a pedestal in a *mandapa* of its own in front of the temple. There seems to have been a wall of enclosure, but now only its basement remains.

In addition to the images of Brahma and Vishnu mentioned already, a few others, namely, of Chandesvarar, Jyeshthadevi and Bhairavar, are found lying loose near the entrance.

Ujjivanathar temple
(Tiruk-Karkkudi Paramesvarar)

Uyyakkondan Tirumalai

Uyyakkondan Tirumalai is a village 3 miles (4.83 km.) west of Tiruchy. The temple here is now called Ujjivanathar temple. It is known to the *Devaram* hymnists (7th century A.D.) as *Tiruk-Karkkudi.* On a pillar in the inner enclosure of this temple, there is an inscription of the 10th year of a Parakesarivarman (470 of 1908) which can be attributed to Parantaka I. In this inscription, the principal deity is called Tirukkarkkudi Paramesvarar and the temple is said to be located in Nandipanmamangalam (named after the Pallava king, Nandivarman III), a *brahmadeya* on the southern bank of the Kaveri; according to it, one Peranan Viranarayanan *alias* Sembiyan Marayan, a *perundanam* of Virasola Ilangovelan of Kodumbalur, gave a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp to this God. This temple of Karkkudi (=stone-temple) on the south bank of the Kaveri is also referred to by Sekkilar in his *Periya Puranam.*

On a pillar in the south-east corner of the verandah surrounding the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 34th year of Madiraikonda Parakesari, i.e., Parantaka I (96 of 1892). In this inscription also, the temple is called that of Tiruk-Karkkudi Paramesvarar in the *brahmadeya* village of Nandipanmamangalam.

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It records the gift of 90 ewes for the supply of one *ulakku* of ghee every day for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp by Pirantakan Madevadigalar, the daughter of Mala Perumal and consort of Gandaraditya devar, son of Parantaka I.

There is an inscription (427 of 1908) of the 2nd year of 'Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya, i.e., Aditya II, which records a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp by one Irunkolakkon *alias Pugalvippira-kandan Avanivallan.*

An incomplete record of Uttama Chola (456 of 1908) makes provision for offerings to the deity. It is a unique record, mentioning its date according to both the *saka* era (901) and the *kaliyuga* era (4080), equivalent to A.D. 979. This is of great importance in fixing the date of Uttama Chola.

In the 10th year of Rajaraja I, Sembiyan Maha-deviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola (who survived both her husband and her son), presented a costly jewelled crown to this God. It is said to have comprised 149 *kalanju* of gold, 190 *kalanju* of silver, 700 pearls, 3 rubies and 27 diamonds (95 of 1892).

Thus it will be clear that this temple, called Tiruk-karkkudi, was a temple built of stone sometime before the 10th year of Parantaka I, and that it received great royal benefactions (vide also Epi. Rep. no. 96 of 1892 : SII, II, Part III, no. 75, pp. 374-375).

The temple is situated on a hillock and it faces the west. The original temple (stone temple) consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *devakoshtas* have Durga and Brahma on the northern side, Ardha-narisvarar in the east (rear side) and Dakshinamurti and Bhikshatanar on the south side. There are two *dvarapalas in front*.

As there is the figure of Ardhanarisvarar in the rear *devakoshta,* we may be tempted to assign the construc-tion of this temple even during the time of Aditya I.

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Except this, there is no other evidence. (Pls.7 to 10).

1. *Tiruppudisvaram*
2. *Muchukundesvaram*
3. *Aintali*
4. *Tripurantakar temple*
5. *Tiru Alankoyil*

Kodumbalur

Kodumbalur lies 25 miles (40.23 km.) from the town of Pudukkottai on the road to Kudumiyamalai and Manapparai.

From time immemorial, Kodumbalur, also known as Kodumbai and Irukkuvelur, had been a city of renown. It was situated in the division of Konadu, and occupied a strategic position on the great highway between the Chola and the Pandya countries. The Tamil classic, *Silappadikaram,* describes in detail this grand city, its big lake and the junction of the Grand Trunk roads linking the capitals of the South Indian kingdoms.

The Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur, like the Muttaraiyars of Niyamam (Nemam), distinguished themselves as generals and statesmen and played no inconsiderable part in the constant struggle for supremacy among the southern powers, Pallava, Pandya and Chola. Kodumbalur had been the scene of many a battle where the fates of many rulers and dynasties were decided.

1. *Tiruppudisvaram*

From the evidence available, the most ancient temple in this place is the Tiruppudisvaram of the days of Aditya I. An inscription, of the 5th year of a king whose name is lost, engraved on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the Muchukundesvarar temple, mentions the Rishabha Perumanadigal of the *Tiruppudisvaram* temple (138 of 1907). Another inscription, again on a pillar in the same *mandapa,* mentions a gift for a

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lamp to the deity of Tiruppudisvarattu Mahadevar in the 21st year of a Rajakesarivarman. From its high regnal year and its paleographical features, this inscription should be assigned to Aditya I. The Epigraphical Report for 1908 (paras 90 and 91) states : "The inscriptions, one from Tirupparaitturai (253 of 1903) and the other from Tiruchchendurai (293 of 1903) in the Tiruchirappalli district, refer to the temple of Tiruppudisvaram at Kodumbalur. Tiruppudisvaram (138 of 1907) might have been the ancient name of Muvarkoyil built by Pudi Vikrama Kesari."

As will be seen from a later discussion (in the section on the Muvarkoyil, under "Sundara Chola"), the Muvarkoyil was built by Bhuti Vikrama Kesari in the latter half of the 10th century A.D. during the period of Sundara Chola Parantaka II, and therefore cannot be identified with the monument referred to in the pillar inscription of the 21st year of (Rajakesari who is identical with) Aditya I, which pre-dates the building of the Muvarkoyil by nearly seven decades.

Next, as this Rajakesari inscription is found in the *mandapa* of the Muchukundesvarar temple, the natural presumption could be that it should refer to this temple itself. But it has to be remembered that the *mandapa* on whose pillar this inscription is engraved is a later structure, not organically connected with the original parts of the Muchukundesvarar temple. The pillars of this *mandapa* should have belonged to another temple, and been assembled and utilised at a later date for the construction of this *mandapa*. Further, all the inscriptions genuinely connected with the original temple of what is now called the Muchukundesvaram call the deity of that temple Tiru Mudukunram Udaiyar : this name is also reinforced by a new inscription recently discovered. The Editor of The Manual of the Pudukkottai State (Vol. II, Part II. p. 1035, Note) furnishes the following information : "One of the

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inscriptions recently discovered mentions that *Mahimalaya Irukkuvel* appointed the priests of the Tiruppudisvaram temple to conduct worship in the new temple of Mudukundamudaiyar (Mudukunram Udaiyar?). Thus, it is clear that the temple of Tiruppudisvaram is an earlier temple and different from the Muchukundesvaram". Moreover, there is an inscription of the 17th year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (A.D. 1270) which mentions the sale of some lands by the local Kaikkolamudalis to the Chandesvara Nayanar of *Tirumudukunram* Udaiya Nayanar temple : in the body of the text, while describing the boundary of those lands, it mentions the *devadana* lands of *Tiruppudisvaram* Udaiyar temple.

Thus we are led to conclude that the Tiruppudisvaram temple is neither the Muvarkoyil nor the so-called Muchukundesvarar temple, but some other ancient temple in this locality which has since disappeared. It should have been the *earliest* Chola temple of the place, belonging to the days of Aditya I.

There are two inscriptions from Tirupparaitturai which have to be considered in this connection. One, of the 27th year of a Rajakesarivarman (258 of 1903), has to be assigned to Aditya I (A.D. 898), and therefore the chief, Pudi Parantakan, who figures in that inscription cannot be equated with Bhuti Vikramakesari, the builder of the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur in the middle of the 10th century A.D. The date of the other Rajakesari record (273 of 1903) also mentioning Pudi Parantakan is lost. And one would like to have further proof before agreeing with the conclusion that Tennavan Ilangovelan *alias* Maravan Pudiyar is identical with Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur; no valid deduction can be drawn merely on the basis of the fact that each of the chiefs had a consort named Karralip-Piratti.

2. *Muchukundesvaram*

In all the inscriptions up to the 15th century relating

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to this temple (Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State, no. 718), this temple is called the temple of Tiru Mudukunram Udaiyar. The present name, Muchukundesvaram, must therefore be taken as a corruption of Tiru Mudukunram. Muchukunda was no doubt a legendary ancestor of the Cholas, but we have no evidence that it was named after him.

The editor of 'The Manual of the Pudukkottai State' mentions that four inscriptions engraved on the plinth of the central shrine were newly exposed, and that they furnish the information that the stone-temple (*Karrali*) of Tiru Mudukunram Udaiyar was built by *Mahimalaya Irukkuvel,* a contemporary of (the later days of) Parantaka I and Gandaraditya; and that he directed the priests of the Tiruppudisvaram temple to conduct worship also in the new temple of Mudukunram Udaiyar. Hence this temple has to be assigned to the early 10th century (about A.D. 921). In age, it stands between the Tiruppudisvaram and the Muvarkoyil temples.

The temple faces the east. The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 13 ft. 6 in. (4.11 m.) side. The *ardhamanadapa* projects 7 ft. 8 in. (2.34 m.) forward. The basement has plain mouldings. There are two pilasters flanking the central niche, and two at each corner of the *garbhagriha*. There is a *torana* over each niche. The corbels have a roll-moulding with a median band. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali*-frieze above it.

This is a *dvi-tala* temple (Pl.11). The second *tala* has the usual *pancharas*, rectangular wagon-roofed ones in the centre (*salai*) and square ones with curvilinear roofs at the edges (*kutam*). These rest over the layer of the cornice and the *yali* frieze of the *garbhagriha* (or the first *tala*). But the main structure of the second *tala* rests on pillars, four on each side, leaving an open

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passage all round between these pillars and the cornice of the first *tala*. The second *tala* also has a cornice and *yali*-frieze layers. Then comes the *griva,* with niche-figures on the four sides, surmounted by *kudus* whose *simha*-heads project into the *sikhara*. The *sikhara* is four-sided and curvilinear. Over the *padma* and *ratna pattika* rests the four-sided *stupi*. Only four out of the original eight sub-shrines are now found intact; one is empty and the other three contain Subrahmanya in the west, Chandesvarar in the north, close to the *garbhagriha,* and *Bhairavar* in the north-east corner of the court. The existence of the original Bhairavar sub-shrine with its idol (still) in it is of great importance, as it settles beyond a shadow of doubt the eighth figure among the *Ashta-parivara-devatas* mentioned in the Erumbur inscription of Parantaka I.

In the *devakoshtas,* there are Vishnu in the western niche and Brahma in the north; the image of Dakshina-murti in the southern niche is not the original one.

3. *Aintali* (*Aivar Koyil*)
(The temple of the five shrines)

South-east of the Muvarkoyil, there existed another Siva temple, which seems to be quite unlike others found in South India, answering to the description of what is called a *'Panchayatana temple'*.

The sub-shrines (*anga-alaya*) of the Kailasanathar temple at Kanchi, those of the Talapurisvarar temple at Panamalai and the later development of eight sub-shrines for the *ashta-parivara-devatas* are different from this type of temple. On a common plinth, there was a central shrine surrounded by a narrow circumambulatory *prakara,* with four subsidiary shrines on the sides. It is a pity that of this monument, the only known specimen of what corresponds to a *Panchayatana* temple of Central and Eastern India, only the basement and the wreckage remain.

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4. *Tripurantakar temple*

South of the Muvarkoyil, there was another Siva temple, of which only the basement of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are traceable. A few sculptures of good workmanship have been unearthed here : those of Tripurantaka and Tripura Sundari, dug up from this area some years back, are now housed in the Madras Government Museum (Pls. 101, 102).

5. *Tiru Alankoyil*

The existence of yet another Siva temple in this place, called the Tiru Alankoyil, is brought to our notice by its being mentioned in two inscriptions in the Muchukundesvarar temple, one of the time of Kulottunga III and the other of the time of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (nos. 144 and 379 of the Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State). This temple cannot be traced now.

Local tradition asserts that there were in the past 108 temples in Kodumbalur; like Kanchi, Kumbakonam and Uttaramerur, Kodumbalur also was a city of temples. But, unfortunately, it has suffered irreparable injury from wanton destruction at the hands of vandals totally oblivious to the value of these art-treasures. The few that have survived are of inestimable value for the study of the art and architecture of the Early Chola period.[6]

1. *Pasupatisvaram*
2. *Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple*

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[6]Kodumbalur was the home of Idangazhi Nayanar, one of the 63 Tamil Saivite Saints whose glory is sung by Sekkilar in his *Periya Puranam*. It is said that he was a *Velir* Chief descended from the Yadavas of Dvaraka belonging to one of the families which followed sage Agastya in his migration to the South. It is further claimed that he was the chief of this city and an ancestor of the Chola king Aditya I "who covered the *kanaka sabha* of Chidambaram with the gold obtained by him from the conquest of the Kongu country".

According to one of the stories associated with him, a Saivite devotee in his dominion had helped himself to the grains from the State's granary, for lack of

(Contd. on next page)

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Kilappaluvur

Kilappaluvur lies about three miles east of Kilaiyur and thirty-three miles from Tiruchy on the road to Ariyalur and Gangai-konda-cholapuram. According to the local inscriptions, Kilappaluvur was known in the past as the *brahmadeya* of Sirupaluvur, as distinct from Mannu-Perum-Paluvur or Melappaluvur which then comprised both the modern villages of Kilaiyur and Melappaluvur. *Palu, vata* and *al* mean the banyan tree and the place should have once been a forest of banyan trees; hence it came to be known as Paluvur or Alandurai.

This place was included in the administrative division known as Kunrakkurram, which in the days of Rajaraja I came to be called Uttunga valanadu and later in the days of Kulottunga I as Nitta Vinoda Valanadu.

There are two Siva temples here, close to each other : Pasupatisvaram *alias* Maravanisvaram and Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple.

1. *Pasupatisvaram* (*Maravanisvaram*)

This ancient Siva temple is now a mere historical relic, with only the four (inscribed) walls of its *garbhagriha* standing intact. A loose *dvarapala* sculpture found in the compound near the eastern *gopuram* of the Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar temple might have belonged to this temple (Pl. 17). In inscriptions of this temple relating to a Parakesarivarman (4th to 10th years 216, 217, 219 and 222 of 1926), it is called Maravanisvaram. The inscription of his 9th year mentions a gift of land by purchase for a lamp to the temple of Maravanisvarattu Mahadevar by the uncle (*mamadi*)

(Contd. from previous page)

personal means to give offerings to the Lord. When the case was brought before the chief, the devotee pleaded that he resorted to such a course for lack of resources to propitiate Siva. Thereupon, Idangazhi is said to have ordered the grains in his barns and the gold in his treasury to be distributed to the needy. Naturally, with such antecedents, Kodumbalur was a great centre of piety and the home of high-souled devotees.

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of one Adigal Paluvettaraiyar Marvan Kandanar. According to a Parakesari inscription of the same (ninth) year in the neighbouring temple of Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar (249 of 1926), the same chief, Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandanar, purchased some lands and assigned them to several persons for services to, and for a lamp to be burnt before, Maravanisvarattu Devar. It is difficult to decide whether these early records should be assigned to Parantaka I or to Uttama Chola. We also find one Maravan Kandanar figuring in a number of Rajakesari inscriptions which should be taken as relating to Sundara Chola.

This temple contains three inscriptions of Parantaka I, of the 29th, 33rd and 36th years (221, 220 and 218 of 1926). The last-mentioned refers to a gift of land for putting up a water-lift (*ettam*) for baling out water for the use of cattle, and another water-lift for watering the flower-garden of the temple from the well intended for the sacred bath of the Lord.

Anyhow, this temple of Maravanisvaram had been in existence at least from the days of Parantaka I. Perhaps it was built by Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandanar, who figures in inscriptions of the place as a benefactor of this temple, for the merit of, and named after, his father Maravanar. The Government Epigraphist, in an obvious attempt to interpret the name 'Maravanisvaram', has changed the name of the above chief into Kandan Maravan when he writes : "The temple now called Pasupatisvaram originally bore the name of Maravanisvaram, erected as it must have been by a local chief who bore the name of Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Maravan." (See also the foot-note for a discussion on the part played by the Paluvettariyar chiefs).

2. *Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple*

Sambandar (7th century AD) has sung a hymn

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on the Lord of this place, and he mentions that the worship of this temple was in his days in charge of the priests of Malaiyalars (of Kerala). The inscriptions of Parantaka I found on the walls of this temple range from his 10th to his 37th year.[7] The most important of them is the one of his 12th year, which relates to a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp in the temple of Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar at Sirupaluvur in Kunrak-Kurram in celebration of the great Chola victory at the battle of Velur over the combined forces of the Pandyas and the Ceylonese. This inscription is significant as a contemporary record of victory inscribed soon after the great event. Another inscription of his time and of the same date from Tirupparkkadal (North Arcot dist.) referring to the same event mentions an endowment of 120 *kalanju* of gold, from the interest whereof four brahmans well-versed in the Vedas were to be fed every day in the *salai-mandapa* built by the donor, for the merit of four warriors who fell in a frontal attack in the battle of Velur. This second Pandyan war in the days of Parantaka I was a turning point in the history of South India. The existence of the present structure of this temple thus dates back to the time of Parantaka I, though we have no evidence as to the exact date of its conversion into a stone-temple. (For a discussion on this and on the Paluvettaraiyars, see pp. 11–12 of Early Cola Bronzes by Douglas Barrett, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1965).

There is an inscription (245 of 1926) of the 15th year

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[7]Inscriptions of Parantaka I, all bearing the title 'Madiraikonda Parakesari', on the walls of the central shrine:

North wall	19th	year	225	of 1926
West ,,	10th	,,	233	,,
,, ,,	12th	,,	231	,,
,, ,,	37th	,,	230	,,
South ,,	19th	,,	236	,,
,, ,,	22nd	,,	241	,,
,, ,,	26th	,,	239	,,

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of a Parakesarivarman (unidentified), which mentions that a chief called Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandan built this temple. If this is taken to refer to a Parakesari later than Parantaka I, then it should be assigned to Uttama Chola, and, in that case, it should be understood that he was responsible for the *completion* of this temple-complex built during the time of Parantaka I, possibly by adding the *mukha-mandapa,* a wall of enclosure and a *gopura* and perhaps even the *dvarapalas.*

Based on his study of the style of the *devakoshta* sculptures of this temple, Douglas Barrett in his Early Cola Bronzes (pp. 11–12) holds that this temple should be assigned to the 15th regnal year of Uttama Chola. This temple has only five *devakoshta* figures, as was common in the days of Aditya I and Parantaka I; whereas in the Sembiyan age (i.e. the period of Uttama Chola) there were not less than nine *devakoshta* figures (e.g. Konerirajapuram, Anangur etc., see under Temples of Uttama Chola age). If the above inscription of the 15th regnal year of Parakesarivarman were to refer to Uttama Chola, then the date of the foundation of this temple would be A.D. 984. This would mean that this temple was built just a year before the accession of Rajaraja I (i.e. A.D. 985). It must be remembered that by that time the *Sembiyan style* was in full swing and a temple with only five original *devakoshta* figures would be an anachronism in that age. Further, I am unable to agree to the theory put forward by Barrett that all the inscriptions of Parantaka I are merely *later copies* of the original inscriptions of Parantaka I, re-engraved on the walls of the newly built structure in the days of Uttama Chola. I firmly hold that these are original contemporary inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I and therefore the foundation of this temple should be assigned only to the age of Parantaka I.

The temple faces the east. This is an *eka-tala* temple and has a spherical *sikhara* (Pl. 12). The *garbhagriha*

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is a square 14 ft. (4.27 m.) side. The *ardhamandapa* projects 6 ft. (1.83 m.) forward east to west. Further up, there is the *mukhamandapa* extending further east by 29 ft. (8.84 m.).

The *devakoshtas* have Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma in the north. Images of Ganesa and Durga adorn the niches in the *ardhamandapa*. There are two old *dvarapalas* in front of the *ardhamandapa*. On the lintel over the gateway of this *mandapa*, there is a sculpture of the Ananta Sayana pose of Vishnu (i.e., reclining on the serpent-couch), though it is popularly believed that it represents Parasurama engaged in penance in expiation of the sin of having killed his mother (at his father's bidding). The *kudus* on the cornice have, in the centre, figures of Tripurantaka and *linga* with worshippers (Pls. 13 to 18).

Over the *devakoshta* containing Dakshinamurti, there is a *makara-torana* with the figure of Nataraja in its centre. The *toranas* over the other *devakoshtas* contain sculptures of Yoga Nrsimha, Gajasamharamurti, Parthasarathi and Arjuna, Vishnu in a reclining posture and the worship of a *linga* by two persons.

In the *mukhamandapa*, there are figures of Kalasamharamurti, Ardhanarisvarar, Kalyanasundaramurti, Kankalamurti and Bhairavar.

In the roofed verandahs surrounding the temple (*tiruchchurrumaligai*), we have stone-images of Durga, Chandesvarar, Sambandar, Appar, Dakshinamurti, the Saptarishis, and a set of Saptamatrikas flanked by Ganesa and Virabhadra; some of them should have originally been the images of the sub-shrines.

In addition to many similarities, the existence of bracket figures in this temple, corresponding to those found in Gramam and Tirunamanallur of the same age will dispel the theory that different styles prevailed in the heart-land of the Chola country and its borders.

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There are a few metals of good workmanship, and among them Rishabhavahanar, Tripurantakar, Dancing Balasubrahmanya and Sundaramurti deserve mention. (For a more detailed account, see my Four Chola Temples, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1963).

The Paluvettaraiyar chiefs have played a significant role in the early Chola period. They have made a great mark in the political activities and military campaigns of their overlords; they have built many temples and made great endowments for their maintenance.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Paluvettaraiyars is to one of their chiefs by the name of Paluvettaraiyar Kumaran Kandan in an inscription of the 10th regnal year of a Rajakesarivarman identical with Aditya I, found at *Tiruvaiyaru* (A.D.881).

The latest Paluvettaraiyar inscription is one of the fifteenth year of a Rajakesarivarman identical with Rajaraja I (A.D. 1000). Over this long period of a century and a quarter, we can identify at least eleven members of this family (ten male and one female), who could among themselves easily cover four generations.

Douglas Barrett in his Early Cola Bronzes deals with this rather complex issue by an over-simplified presentation of the problem. He has disposed of the Paluvettaraiyars compressing them into two generations comprising a Maravan Kandan and a Kandan Maravan. At page 12 of his book, he writes : "I understand the difficulties surrounding the Paluvettaraiyar chiefs, but let us consider the following scheme :

Maravan Kandan

Kilappaluvur	*Kilaiyur*
Rajakesari	(Agastyesvaram shrine)
5(118 of 1895)	*Rajakesari*
	10(365 of 1924)
8(121 of 1895)	13 (270 ? (370) of 1924)
12(229 of 1926)	1(6) (367 of 1924)

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Parakesari
9(249 of 1926)
9(219 of 1926),
Pasupatisvaram
temple
15(245 of 1926)

Kandan Maravan

Kilappaluvur	*Melappaluvur*	*Kilaiyur*
Rajakesari	Uttama	(Agastyes-varam shrine)
7(226 of 1926)	16(395 of 1924)	Parakesari
	Rajakesari	15(356 of
	4(394 of 1924)	1924)

A comprehensive list of inscriptions relating to the various Paluvettaraiyar chiefs indicative of the part that they have played in the social and political life of this period is contained in the following footnote[8]:

[8]*The Paluvettaraiyars*

1. *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Kandan*
   Period of Aditya I.
   (i) Kilaiyur, Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham, Agastyesvaram shrine, south wall inscription 357 of 1924 : provision made for burning a perpetual lamp in each of the two shrines of the temple : 13th year of Rajakesari (A.D. 884).
   (ii) Tiruvaiyaru, Panchanadisvarar temple (224 of 1894) : 10th year of Rajakesari (A.D. 881).
   (iii) Tiruvaiyaru, Panchanadisvarar temple (238 of 1894), 19th year of Rajakesari (A.D. 890).
2. *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan*
   Period of Aditya I and of Parantaka I.
   (i) Kilaiyur, Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham, Agastyesvaram shrine, south wall inscription (360 of 1924): provision made for burning a perpetual lamp in each of the two shrines of the temple : 22nd year of Rajakesari (A.D. 893).
   (ii) Lalgudy (117 of 1928–29):5thyear of Parakesari(=Parantaka I)(A.D.912).

   It is likely that nos. 1 and 2 are brothers—Kandan and Maravan, sons of Kumaran.
3. *Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Amudanar*
   (i) Kilappaluvur, Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple (693 of 1904) : celebrates the Chief's great victory at the battle of Velurin the Second Pandyan war : 12th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 919).

(Contd. on next page)

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For various reasons set forth above, I have stated that the main temple of Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar should be assigned to the period of Parantaka I. In

(Contd. from previous page)

(ii) Tiruvaiyaru (252 of 1894): 14th year of Parakesari (=Parantaka I) (A.D. 921).

(iii) Tirupparkkadal (693 of 1904): 14th year of Parakesari (=Parantaka I) (A.D. 921)

4. *Paluvettaraiyan Vikramadityan.*
237 of 1926 : 8th year of Parakesari (Parantaka I or Uttama Chola ?) (A.D. 915 or 977)

5. *Nampirattiyar Arulmoli Nangaiyar, daughter of the Paluvettaraiyars.*
299 of 1901 : 17th year of Parantaka I : Tiruchchennampundi inscription (A.D. 924)

6. *Paluvettaraiyar Maravan Kandan*
118 of 1895 : 5th year of Rajakesari Sundara Chola (Parantaka II) (A.D. 961)
121 of 1895 : 8th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 964)
365 of 1924 : 10th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 966)
229 of 1926 : 12th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 968)
370 of 1924 : 13th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 969)
367 of 1924 : 16th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 972)
219 of 1926 : 9th year of Parakesari Uttama Chola ,, (A.D. 978)
249 of 1926 : 9th ,, ,, ,, (A.D. 978)
245 of 1926 : 15th ,, ,, (A.D. 984). claims to be the builder of the Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple at Kilappaluvur.
173 of 1928–29 : 10th year of Parakesari (Uttama Chola) : Govindaputtur (A.D. 979)

7. *Paluvettaraiyan Kodandan Tappilli Dharman*
609 of 1920 : 2nd year of Parakesari Uttama Chola : Kattu Mannar Koyil (Udaiyargudi) (A.D. 971)

8. (*Adigal*) *Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Sundara Cholan*
120 of 1895 : 12th year of Parakesari Uttama Chola (A.D. 981)
592 of 1920 : 12th year ,, ,, (A.D. 981)
381 of 1924 : 13th year ,, ,, (A.D. 982)
592 of 1920 : 12th year of Parakesari : Kattu Mannar Koyil : gift for the merit of his brother Kandan Satru-bhayankaranar (A.D. 981)
115 of 1895 : 4th year of Rajakesari Mummadi Chola (=Rajaraja I) (A.D.989)
116 of 1895 : 12th year of Rajaraja I ("Salai kalam aruttaruliya . . .") (A.D. 997)

9. *Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Maravan*
356 of 1924 : 15th year of Parakesari Uttama Chola (A.D. 984)
395 of 1924 : 16th year ,, ,,
Melappaluvur (A.D. 985)
110 of 1895 : 3rd year of Rajakesari (A.D. 988?)
111 of 1895 : 3rd year ,, (A.D. 988?)
394 of 1924 : 4th year, 204th day of Rajakesari
226 of 1926 : 7th year of Rajakesari (A.D. 992)
109 of 1895 : 8th year ,, (A.D. 993)
382 of 1924 : 9th year ,, (A.D. 994)
107 of 1895 : 10th year ,, Rajaraja I (A.D. 995)
363 of 1924 : 15th year ,, ,, (A.D. 1000)

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addition, I have stated in my book Four Chola Temples (pp. 28–33) that the installation of the sculpture of Lingodbhavar is an additional evidence therefor, as Lingodbhavar images come to be more favoured in the rear niches during this (Parantaka I's) and the subsequent period. But Douglas Barrett states categorically that my statement is incorrect (vide p. 12 of his Early Cola Bronzes). He holds the view that the appearance of *hamsa* in the place of Brahma at the top of the linga in the Lingodbhavar images is another post-phase I iconographic feature. I do not accept his theory of three phases in the Early Chola style nor his generalisation that a particular form of representation of Brahma (in the Lingodbhavar image) is confined to a particular period. We do not have sufficient examples of this sculpture to establish such a generalisation. It appears that Brahma is represented in Lingodbhavar images in different forms in different periods without any set pattern relatable to an age; the particular form (of Brahma) in any sculpture seems to be a matter of the artists' fancy, the atelier to which he belonged or the predilection of the patron. The following note will clarify the position[9]:

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[9]*Lingodbhavar in the Early Chola period*

(i) Brahma in human form flying

Ruler	*Place and Temple*	
Aditya I (A.D. 871–907)	Nalur-mayanam (A.D. 873)	Brahma not clear?
Parantaka I (A.D. 907–955)	(i) Pullamangai (Brahmapurisvarar temple)	
	(ii) Tiruvaduturai (Gomuktesvarar temple)	
	(iii) Tiruvandarkoyil (Panchanadisvarar temple)	
Aditya II (A.D. 964–969)	Punjai (Naltunai Isvarar temple)	
Uttama Chola (A.D. 969–985)	Tiruk-kuruhavur (Vellidai Isvarar temple)	

(ii) *Brahma as Hamsa*

Parantaka I (A.D. 907–955)	(i) Karandai (Vasishtesvarar temple)	

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Gangajathadharar temple
(Tiru Visayamangai)

Govindaputtur (Govandaputtur)

Govindaputtur is in the Udayarpalayam taluk of Tiruchy district. Appar (7th century A.D.) has sung Visayamangai in Govandaputtur on the banks of the Kollidam (Coleroon) so called since the *linga* enshrined here is said to have been worshipped by a cow : Sambandar also refers in his hymns to this legendary story. This place is also associated with Partha or Arjuna of the Pancha Pandavas, also known as Vijaya (or Visaya in Tamil) who is supposed to have worshipped the deity here; hence perhaps the names of Vijayamangai and Vijayamangalam. This place has to be considered distinct from another Vijayamangai on the south bank of the Kollidam, to the east of Tiruvaigavur.

Though there are a large number of Parakesari inscriptions here, they have no distinguishing epithets and most of them perhaps belong to Uttama Chola. The earliest inscription is the one on the south wall of the

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	(ii) Kilappaluvur (Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadevar temple)
	(iii) Tiru-velvik-kudi (Manavalesvarar temple)
Sundara Chola (A.D. 956–973)	(i) Kamarasavalli (Karkotakesvarar temple) (the image has in addition a *ketaka* flower)
	(ii) Velaccheri (Dondisvarar temple)
Uttama Chola (A.D. 969–985)	(i) Tirumiyachchur (Muyarchinadesvarar temple)
	(ii) Aduturai (Apatsahayesvarar temple)
	(iii) Tiruvalur (Achalesvarar temple)

(iii) *Brahma in human form riding a hamsa*

Parantaka I (A.D. 907–955)	Kilur (Tirukkoyilur) (Sri Virattanesvarar temple)
Uttama Chola (A.D. 969–985)	(i) Konerirajapuram Umamahesvarar temple
	(ii) Anangur (Agastyesvarar temple)

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central shrine, belonging to the 22*nd year of Parantaka* I (177 of 1928–29). This registers a gift of three plots of land for offerings to Vijayamangalattu Mahadevar. The place seems also to have been named Parantaka-Chaturvedimangalam and, later, Periya Vanavan Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam after the queen of Sundara Chola and mother of Rajaraja I (for a further discussion see under Uttama Chola).

1. *Sundaresvarar temple*
2. *Pidari Koyil*

Nangavaram

Nangavaram is about 11 miles (17.70 km.) northwest of Tiruchy. It has an ancient Siva and a Pidari temple. It is said that the daughter of a Chola king of Uraiyur was born with the face of a jackal, and by her devotion to the Lord of this place, she came to have normal human features. Hence this place is called Mangai-varam or Nangai-varam (or puram), whose corrupt from is Nangavaram. In local inscriptions, it is called Nangai-brahmadeyam *alias* Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam, so named after[10] Arinjigai or Arinjaya, son of Parantaka I; the prefix *Nangai* is perhaps meant to commemorate the above miracle.

In the north eastern part of the *prakara* of this temple there is a stone sculpture of Jyeshthadevi which should have originally belonged to the *Ashtaparivaradevata* shrine of this temple. The shrine of Jyeshthadevi occupied, in the early Chola period, the northwest corner of the *prakara*. When her worship fell into disuse, her statue was removed from her original home, and deposited on an open platform in the eastern side of the northern *prakara* of this temple. Her original shrine

[10]One Pudi Arindigai, wife of Videlvidugu Ilangovelar of Kodumbalur, makes a gift of 27 *kalanju* of gold for offerings to the temple of Adipurisvarar at Tiruvorriyur in the days of Kampavarman (174 of 1912). K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar opines that it is the name of this lady that is associated with Nangapuram called Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam or Nangaikkudi. There is no evidence for such an identification.

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is still there, but a statue of Mahalakshmi is installed in her place; this figure (of Jyeshthadevi) is mistakenly identified by the local people as the Chola princess born with a jackal's face; the existence of the *crow* banner with a male and a female figure on either side of this image (son and daughter) will dispel any doubt about its identity (see plan).

The prevalence of the widely spread popular legend of the miracle of the Lord of the temple of Sundaresvarar at Nangavaram who is credited with the restoration of the human face of the daughter of the Chola King of Uraiyur born with a jackal's face is echoed in two inscriptions of the middle of the 17th century as found in the neighbouring temple of Darukavanesvarar at Tirupparaitturai (SII, VII, no. 598; AR no. 289 of 1903; SII, VII, no. 599; AR no. 290 of 1903, Tirumalainayakar, son of Visvanatha nayakar of Madurai, dated Saka 1564=circa, A.D. 1641).

1. *Sundaresvarar temple*
(Maravanisvaram)

The deity of this temple, now called Sundaresvarar was known in the past as Tiru Maravanisvarattup-Perumal.

Some of the Parakesari inscriptions in this temple should be assigned to Parantaka I or to Arinjaya himself. One of them (330 of 1903) of the 4th year concerns a gift of land for the engaging of two trumpet-blowers, in addition to two already in service, to the temple said to be located in Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam, a *devadana* and a *brahmadeya* on the southern bank of the Kaveri. Another of the same year (331 of 1903) mentions a gift for a flower-garden and for the maintenance of three gardeners and five servants. In the 10th year of a Parakesarivarman (337 of 1903) one Solapperundeviyar *alias* Perunangai, the consort of Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Paran-

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takanar, made a gift of 1080 *kalanju* of gold on her birthday which fell on the day of a solar eclipse. The *Perunguri Sabha* (General Assembly) of Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam received the money and made over some lands to the temple of Maravanisvarattup-Perumanadigal for food-offerings, festivals and worship. The inscription runs thus : "Sembiyan Irukkuvelar ana Pudi Pirantakanar deviyarana Solapperundeviyarana Perunangai tirup pirandanal suryagrahanam aha udakam panni Perumanadigal mel errina marrili sempon 1080 *kalanju*.....". This chief, Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakadevar figures as a donor at Andanallur also between the 10th and 14th years of Parakesari who is to be identified with Parantaka I.

A record (342 of 1903) of the 4th year of a Rajakesarivarman—perhaps Gandaraditya or Sundara Chola—mentions that one Trailokkiyan *alias* Kodandarama Marayan of Karkodai near Kodumbalur bought a piece of land from the local *sabhai* for 80 *kalanju* of gold and made a gift of it for maintaining a boat plying in the tank at Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam; the part 'Kodandaraman' of his name makes him closer to the period of Aditya I (who had this surname).

An inscription of the 12th year of a Parakesari (332 of 1903) mentions that one Lakha Vidyadhara Brahmamarayan reclaimed some waste-land and presented it to the Goddess (Uma Bhattaraki) with the permission of the local *sabha*. It may be a record of the days of Parantaka I. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that this is the first inscriptional evidence of an independent gift being given to the consort of the main deity of the temple, and perhaps the reference is to the bronze image of Bhogesvari set up in this temple and placed perhaps in the *garbhagriha* or the *ardhamandapa* of the temple, as per the prevalent

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custom of this age.

The Sundaresvarar temple has to be assigned to the period of Parantaka I. It is a *dvitala karrali* facing the east.The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. 4 in. (5.89 m.) side. There is a central projection on each of the three sides. The *devakoshtas* in the south and the north are now empty; they originally contained Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (now lying in the subshrine of the Saptamatrikas) and Brahma (a standing figure, found broken into two pieces and lying on the floor, and since removed to a Bombay museum) respectively; that in the west contains Vishnu (Pls. 19 to 27).

The *ardha-mandapa* extends forward 13 ft. 6 in. (4.11 m.) and there are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance. There is a later *mukhamandapa* (32 ft. 6 in. by 23 ft. =9.91 m. by 7.01 m.).

The pilasters are 7 ft. (2.13 m.) high; they have cushion-capitals and *palagais,* and their brackets are adorned with roll ornament with a central band.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The *kudus* have human-heads in the centre and *simha*-heads above.

The second *tala* has *salas* and *kutas*. At the top we have another cornice and a *yali* frieze.

There are niche-figures on the four sides of the *griva* with four bulls at the four corners. The *sikhara* and *stupi* are circular, later treated.

The old subshrines still in existence are those of the Saptamatrikas (rectangular structure with wagon-roof), Ganesa (apsidal) and two others with round *sikharas*. There is also a shrine for Chandesvarar (Pls. 29 to 30).

2. *Pidariyar Sattanur Nangai Koyil*

Besides the Sundaresvarar temple, there is also a Pidari temple here, called that of Pidariyar Sattanur Nangai in an inscription of Parantaka I whose date is lost. It makes provision for rice offerings to this deity:

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the village is called Arinjigai Chaturvedimangalam. This makes it clear that the village was known by this name even in the days of Parantaka I. On the walls of this temple, there are two Rajakasari inscriptions of the 4th and 12th years; perhaps they belong to Sundara Chola. It is mentioned that a separate body called the *Kali Ganattar* was in charge of the administration of the affairs of this temple.

Somesvaram Udaiyar temple

(Tiru Nolambalur Mahadevar)

Somur

Somur is in the Karur taluk of Tiruchy district. It should have been included in the old *Kongu* country.

The earliest inscription on the walls of this temple is one of the 6th year of Parakesarivarman (208 of 1917). It makes a gift of gold for a lamp in the temple of Tiru Nolambalur Mahadevar by one Pirantakan Purushottaman of the *Danatongat-terinja-kaikkolar*. *Danatonga* is a surname of Parantaka I, and the donor bears the name of 'Pirantakan'. So this reocrd may be ascribed to Parantaka I.

Aditya I claims the conquest of the Kongu country, and an inscription of the 6th year of his successor in this place confirms this conquest by Aditya I and Parantaka I. There is also an inscription of the 34th year of a Parakesarivarman, which mentions a gift of gold for a lamp. This also should be ascribed to Parantaka I.

In the 17th year of Rajaraja I, the royal officer who conducted the land survey of the Chola kingdom, *Ulagalavitta Tiruvadigal Sattan,* made an inquiry into the accounts of the temple, and the defaulting temple-servants were fined. Out of the sums thus realized, a golden diadem was made and presented as an offering to Tiru Nolambalur Paramesvarar (at *Devanapalli* or *Devaganapalli*). Various gifts for lamps and

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for offerings were made in the 21st year of Rajaraja I (199 and 198 of 1917).

An inscription on the west wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (not bearing the regnal year or the name of the king, but inscribed in characters which according to the Government Epigraphist, could be assigned to the days of Rajaraja I) mentions that a person Nirttalaivayan Tennunikaman Eluvan *alias* Devaganappalli Araiyan caused the images of *dvarapalas* in the temple to be made (Pls. 28 to 31).

This is a temple of the time of Parantaka I in the old *Kongu* country.

Valarmatisvarar temple

Nirppalani

Nirppalani is 21 miles (33.80 km.) from Pudukkottai town on the Kiranur-Viralimalai road.

On a *slab* near the *nandi-mandapa* of this temple, there is an inscription of the Pandyan king Maran Sadaiyan, perhaps Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan *alias* Varaguna Maharaja (A.D. 765-815). Therefore, the existence of this temple in the early part of the 9th century is established. Perhaps it was then a brick structure; it seems to have been reconstructed of stone in the 10th century.

On the north wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of a Rajakesarivarman, whose date has been read as the 10th year by the Editor of the 'Inscriptions (texts) of the Pudukkottai State'. It mentions a gift of land by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Pirantakan Virasolan for various services to the Mahadevar of Nirppalani; this gift was made on the day of a lunar eclipse which occurred while this chief was staying in the temple of Tirupparaitturai on the banks of the Kaveri. This record has already been discussed in the section on Sittur. We have accepted therein the suggestion of A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar correcting the regnal year from the *tenth* to the *fifth*, so

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as to synchronise the date of this record with those of the Allur and Palur inscriptions cited therein. So this record of Rajakesari, with the amended regnal year (5th), may be assigned to Gandaraditya. Perhaps, the above chief was also the builder in stone of this temple. The temple may, with equal justification, be assigned to the later period of Parantaka I or to that of Gandaraditya before his 5th regnal year.

The *garbhagriha* is 22 ft. 6 in. (6.86 m.) square. There is an *ardhamandapa* in front. There are subshrines for Ganesa, Subrahmanyar, Chandra, Jyeshthadevi, Chandesvarar, Surya and Bhairavar which can be assigned to the 10th century.

Brahmapurisvarar temple

(Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar)

Pullamangai (Pasupati Koyil)

Pullamangai, on the outskirts of Pasupatikoyil, about 9 miles (14.48 km.) from Tanjavur, has one of the finest of Early Chola temples. It is now called the Brahmapurisvarar temple, but, according to its inscriptions, it was known in the past as that of Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar.

There are a number of Parakesari inscriptions here without distinguishing epithets, and some of them could relate to Parantaka I; one, of the third year (549 of 1921), mentions that the Village Assembly met in the *mandapa* in front of the Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple and executed the sale of some land (of extent 1½ *ma*) to the temple of Kala Pidari in Naduvirchcheri (perhaps the modern village of Nalluchcheri) for 25 *kasu*, making the land tax-free. An inscription of the 6th year of a Parakesari, which could be assigned to Parantaka I, registers a gift of land by Sembiyan Mahabali Vanarayar for conducting the morning service to this Lord. This chief is the famous Ganga feudatory Prithivipati II, on whom Parantaka I had conferred the Bana country and the titles of

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'Banadhiraja' and 'Sembiyan Mahabali Vanaraya' after his conquest of the Banas with the help of Prithivipati.[11]

There are two inscriptions of Maduraikonda Parakesari, Parantaka I, of the 11th and the 18th years (558 and 555 of 1921). The first refers to a gift of land for a lamp by a private individual, and the second to a royal gift of 5½ *veli* of unalienated land and five *kalanju* of gold to this deity.

An inscription of the 5th year of 'Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya', Aditya II, also relates to a gift for a lamp.

A Rajakesarivarman inscription of the 15th year (556 of 1921), also recording a gift for a lamp, should be assigned to Sundara Chola. Thus it will be clear that the *stone* temple should have come into existence in the days of Parantaka I, though it might have existed earlier as a *brick* structure at least from the days of the Nayanmars (7th century).

The temple faces the east. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are the only components of the old temple of the days of Parantaka I. The central shrine is a square of side 25 ft. (7.62 m.). The mouldings of the plinth deserve special mention. The layers *kumudam, kandam, kapotam* and *varimanam* (of *yalis*) are of exquisite workmanship and finish.

On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa,* there are five *devakoshtas* containing Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga. At the base of the *koshtas* and in the moulding of the *kandam* below the *kapotam*, there are panels of miniature-sculptures of delicate workmanship and fine

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11 Vide : Takkolam inscription of the 24th year of Rajakesari Aditya I : Epi. Rep. no. 5 of 1897, E.I., XIX, no. 12.

Pullamangai : Epi. Rep. no. 559 of 1921, E.I., XXVI, no. 10.

Sholingur inscription of the 9th year of Parakesari Parantaka I : Epi. Rep. no. 9 of 1896, E.I., IV, p. 221.

The Udayendiram Plates : SII, II, no. 76.

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finish. The *kapotam* is adorned with circles on its edges and scroll-work in the middle and at the two ends. This is surmounted by a *yali*-frieze, and at the edges there are *makara* heads, with human beings in various wonderful postures set within their gaping mouths. Over this *yali* frieze in each of the *devakoshtas,* there are four panels of miniature-sculptures. In addition to the main figures of the *devakoshtas,* there are attendant deities and their vehicles in the adjacent wall-space between the inner semi-circular pilasters, flanking the niche-figure and supporting the *torana* above, and the octagonal pilasters enclosing the whole bay. The upper portions of the shafts of the pilasters are adorned with scroll-work, and the abacus (*palagai*) is thick and large in size. There are at the bottom two gaping *makaras* with riders placed so as to face two other *makaras* at the top, with a number of smaller *makaras* in between. This outer border of the *torana* is crowned with a figure at the top. The pediment contains another line of small-sized *makaras* enclosing the figure of a deity in the centre. The pilasters are decorated with *bas relief,* floral scrolls, dancing figures, birds, *yalis*, and garlands of beads or pearls. Over the *palagai* of the octagonal pilasters and below the main cornice, there are bracket-figures, rearing *yalis* with riders which seem to be flying in the air as in the *toranas* of Sanchi.

Between the *devakoshtas,* there are *pancharas* in two *talas*. The lower *tala* has two four-sided pilasters resting on a *yali varimanam* and two base-panels of miniature-sculptures. The corbels are angular with roll-ornament. The central band has human beings entwined by flower-creepers. The cornice is full of scroll-work from end to end, with two *kudus* crowning the two pilasters. The *kudus* are more or less semi-circular in shape and covered with scroll-work and crowned by a *simha* head. There is a horizontal cross-

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band in the centre. The *yali* frieze is repeated over the cornice, with two open-mouthed *makara* heads at the ends. The second *tala* of the *pancharas* is in the form of an attic with a central niche-figure of marvellous charm in a striking *tribhanga* pose, flanked by two rampant *yalis* on the sides. Its *sikhara* is rectangular and has a wagon-roof shape, and this is inserted into the *kudu* of the main cornice. Between the architrave and the main cornice of the *garbhagriha,* we have a *bhutagana* frieze, full of animation and a variety of forms interspersed with birds, animals and a sculpture of Lord Ganesa. The cornice is adorned with circles at the edges and *kudus* along the facade.

There are two more *talas* above the *garbhagriha.* There are rectangular, wagon-roofed *pancharas* (*salas*) in the centre and cubical ones (*kutas*) at the ends. Above the third *tala,* we have the *griva.* There is a figure-niche on each of the four sides surmounted by an elaborate *kudu* crowned by a *simha*- head. There are Saivite figures in the niches. The *sikhara* and the *stupi* are four-sided and curvilinear. Though originally this temple was of stone, the upper storeys have been largely remodelled in plaster in recent times.

The *ardhamandapa,* also a part of the original temple, is supported by four pillars with pilasters at the sides. It measures 26 ft. by 22 ft. (=7.92 m. by 6.71 m.). The edges of the cornice are adorned by miniature shrines. On the sides of the entrance to the *ardha-mandapa,* there are two *dvarapalas* in two different postures as in the temple of Tirukkattalai. The head-dress, the thick rolled *yajnopavita,* the necklace and the armlets recall Later Pallava sculptures (Pls. 32 to 42).

The shrines of the *parivara-devatas* have disappeared.[12]

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[12] *Some later inscriptions :* An inscription of the 12th year of Rajaraja I mentions that the Assembly of Pullamangalam met in the temple to the beat of drums and made a gift of land to certain brahmans well-versed in the *Rig*-and *Sama-vedas.*

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Gomuktisvarar temple

Tiruvaduturai (Tiruvava-duturai)

Masilamani Isvarar or Tiruvavaduturai Udaiyar temple

Tiruvaduturai was called in the past Tiruvavaduturai, the place which enables human beings reach the blessed state of final disentanglement from all embodiments; and the Lord of the present temple of Masilamanisvarar was called Tiruvavaduturai Udaiyar or Paramasvamin. This place is sung by the *devaram* hymnists of the 7th century : Sambandar is said to have got a gift of gold from the Lord of this place. Sendanar sang his *Tiru Isaippa,* and Tirumular did his penance and sang his *Tiru Mandiram* here. It is the headquarters of one of the three great Saivite *mutts* (*adhinam*) of South India.

There are five inscriptions of a Parakesarivarman without identifying epithets, on the walls of this temple: these can be assigned to Parantaka I. In an inscription of the 2nd year (135 of 1925), the Assembly of Sattanur, in whose jurisdiction the temple was situated, makes a sale of land tax-free to make provision for the maintenance of a cocoanut-and flower-garden for the temple for the merit of the donor, a member of *Aditya-panmat-terinja kaikkolar,* a division of the army named after Aditya I. This record can be assigned to Parantaka I.

In an inscription of the 3rd year of a Parakesarivarman (unidentified : 139 of 1925), one Karralip-Pichchan purchased some lands in the neighbouring village of Sirranaichchur and allotted the same among the singers of hymns, those bringing water for the sacred bath of the God and the pipers of the temple. The same donor figures in a number of other inscriptions which can be definitely assigned to Parantaka I. Hence

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The trial of a criminal case is mentioned in a record of the 9th year of Vikrama Chola. Two watchmen of the temple had a quarrel, and a son of one of them fell in the affray; the other was punished by being asked to burn a perpetual lamp (contributing three-fourths of the expenditure) in the name of the deceased.

A record of Kulottunga III mentions the exemption from taxes of certain lands belonging to the temple.

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this inscription also can be said to belong to the same ruler.[13]

An inscription of the 25th year of Madurai-konda Parakesari, Parantaka I (A.D. 932 : 126 of 1925) mentions that this temple was *built* by the said Tirukkarralip-Pichchan; he now makes a further gift for the maintenance of pipers in the temple. Another endowment of Tirukkarralip-Pichchan was made in the 35th year of Parantaka I for the maintenance of servants who blew the conch and the horn, of those who held the parasol and of those who looked after the flower-garden (125 of 1925). The same donor makes more gifts in the 38th year of Parantaka I (122 and 142 of 1925). The most important and interesting record is yet another of the 38th year of Parantaka I (143 of 1925). This mentions a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold by Parantakadevar (the king himself) for constructing the temple in stone from the *kudap-padai* upwards. Perhaps the king helped complete what Tirukkarralip-Pichchan had begun, or merely made a contribution thereto.

Another interesting feature about this temple is that its inscriptions (104 and 117 of 1925) furnish a list of the gold and silver vessels and of the metallic images of deities presented to the temple together with details of their measurements similar to the descriptions found inscribed in later days in the Tanjavur temple built by Rajaraja I. The bronzes listed below are said to have been installed here; it is a pity that none of the *old* ones could be identified : 1 (a) The Lord of Dancing (*pitham* and *prabha* included) (b) Nampirattiyar (Goddess) 2 Chandrasekhara-devar and His Nampirattiyar 3 Tribhuvana Sundarar 4 Ganapathiyar 5 Chandrasekhara-devar 6 Kshetrapala-devar 7 Rishabhavahana-

[13] The presiding deity of the main (central) shrine is Sri Masilamanisvarar. There seems to have been a more ancient temple here called that of Sri Gomuktisvaram. The shrine for this Lord is inside the third *prakara* close to the first *gopuram*. The shrine for the celebrated local Tamil saint Tirumular lies in the western end of the second *prakara* projecting into the third *prakara* (See Plan).

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devar and His Pirattiyar (Rishabha, *pitham* and *prabha* included) 8 Pichcha-devar (Bhikshatana-devar) with deer, *pitham* and *prabha* 9 Ardhanari-devar with *padma* 10 Dakshinamurti 11 Pallik-kattil Nachiyar (Palliyarai Nachiyar) 12 Astra-devar, with the supporting rod and *pitham*, 13 Chandesvarar 14 Tirunavukkarasa-devar 15 Sambandar 16 Nambi Aruranar (Sundarar) 17 Tirukkarralip-Pichchan (see pp. 8–9 of the Introduction to Sambandar Devaram, Part III, published by the Dharmapuram Adhinam).

An equally noteworthy feature of this temple is the carving of labelled portrait-sculptures of donors and devotees on the walls of the temple. This is the earliest example of its kind in the Chola period, though not of high artistic merit. Here are a few of the sculptures :

1. figure of Karralip-Pichchan worshipping a *linga,* on the eastern side of the south wall of the *garbhagriha,* next to Dakshinamurti: (132 of 1925);

2. figures of Ambalavan Tiruvisalur *alias* Tirunavukkaraiyar, a devotee of Tiruvavaduturai Alvar : (133 of 1925);

3. figure of Ilaiya Tirunavukkaraiyar, the devotee of Karrali Piranar (the local deity) a standing figure with palms held up in adoration : (131 of 1925);

4. figure of Daman Ambalan *alias* Namasivayan of Sirradi in Tiraimur-nadu : (141 of 1925) and

5. two standing figures, one of Eluvan Sandira (Chandrasekharan) of Vamampusal who constructed a tier (*padai*) of the temple, and the other of Nakkan Vannattadigal, a maid-servant of the palace (*periyavelam*) : (106 of 1925).

The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. 6 in. (5.94 m.) side. The *antarala,* 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.) broad, connects it with the *ardhamandapa,* which extends 20 ft. (6.10 m.) forward.

The *devakoshta* figures are : Ganapati, Agastya, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga.

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The *devakoshtas* have *toranas;* that over Dakshinamurti has an image of Nataraja in its centre (Pls. 43 to 50).

About the age of the construction in stone of this temple, Douglas Barrett, in his Early Cola Bronzes (Bhulabhai Memorial Trust, Bombay), expresses the view that it was perhaps built of brick on a *stone base* and was rebuilt of stone from the *kumudappadai* upwards in the 38th year of Parantaka I, and that the important inscriptions recording donations (of the 2nd, 3rd, 25th, 38th and 39th years) of the period of Parantaka I were re-recorded on the new fabric. He accepts a suggestion of the Government Epigraphist that the "*kudappadai*" mentioned in the 38th year inscription of Parantaka I should be read as *"kumudappadai"*. He admits that the architectural forms are composed of elements typical of *what he calls "Phase I"* of Early Chola style (A.D. 850-940). But, at the same time, he sees in this monument the beginnings of a real movement towards a new mode of expression. The presence of a grille with three orange-shaped openings and the introduction of additional *koshtas* in the outer walls of the *ardhamandapa,* with the sculpture of Agastya in one of them, are sufficient for him for postulating *a second phase* of Early Chola style between A.D. 940 and 970 in the Early Chola period (which again, according to him, should be regarded as extending from A.D. 850 to 1014).

Kumudappadai is only a moulding of the *adhishthana,* and no temple would be considered worthy of worshipping in till the image of the principal deity is installed in the cella resting on the *adhishthana*. The songs of the *Devaram* hymnists testify to the existence of this temple as a brick structure even in the 7th century A.D. It is difficult to imagine that the old temple was of stone only up to the *kumudam* moulding (with the superstructure of brick) and that it was later built entirely of stone with the proceeds of the gift made by king

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Parantaka I himself in his 38th year. The stone inscriptions mention gifts to this deity as early as in his 2nd and 3rd years and its construction of stone as early as his 25th year. I hesitate to accept the suggested emendation of *kudappadai* into *kumudappadai;* the former is admittedly the actual expression used in the inscription. I admit that the meanings of these ancient technical terms in South Indian Architecture have to be established by further research. However, I would venture to suggest that *kudappadai* may reasonably be construed as the layer of the *sikhara* just below the *stupi.* In the Great Temple at Tanjavur, there is an inscription of the 25th year and 275th day of Rajaraja I, which refers to the copper-pot (*seppukkudam*) meant to serve as its *stupi :* the term *kudam* here signifies the copper *stupi* to be gilded and installed at the top. The relevant lines are : "Sri Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar Sri-Vimanattuch *chembu stupi-tariyil* vaikkak kodutta *seppukkudam* onru". The gilded *stupi* is the most costly and important element of the *Sri-Vimana.* It should not be surprising if Parantaka I himself made a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold towards the crowning act of the completion of the *Sri-Vimana.*

Madhuvanesvarar (*Mullaivanesvarar*) *temple*

Tirukkalavur (Tirukkarugavur)

The temple of Tirukkarugavur dates back at least to the days of the *Devaram* hymnists Appar and Sambandar, of the 7th century A.D. The Moon and the Constellations are said to have worshipped the Lord of this place. The local legends mention the succour given by Him to a child in the womb of a helpless woman. Hence the name of Tiruk-karu-kavur, the abode of One Who saved a child still in the mother's womb.

The present temple dates back to at least the time of Parantaka I. His earliest inscription here is that of the 14th year ('Madirai-konda Parakesari' : 36 of 1910).

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It refers to a gift of land for a lamp by Samundan Murti to the Mahadevar of Tirukkarugavur, situated near Tirukkudamukku (Kumbakonam) and a *devadana* in Pamburnadu on the north bank of the Kaveri. Among the boundaries of the donated land, there is mention of a channel of the Kaveri called Utpalaru, a branch or drainage channel of the main river.

The next inscription to be considered is A.R. no. 35 of 1910. It begins with the third year of Parakesari and ends abruptly. In continuation thereof, there is an inscription of the 16th year of Parakesari. H. Krishna Sastri was inclined to attribute it to either Parantaka I or Uttama Chola (the latter in view of the absence of the epithet 'Madurai-konda'). But the inscription is marked with *pullis* throughout, as in the inscription of the 14th year of Parantaka I above. Hence it can be safely attributed to Parantaka I. It registers a sale of land by the General Assembly of the village (*Mulap-Perumakkal*) for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple. One of his 27th year (42 of 1910) refers to a list of lands owned by the temples of Mahadevar, Kala Pidari and Mahavishnu in this village called Palk-Karugavur.

Another inscription of his 39th year (37 of 1910) registers a gift by a maid-servant of the Queen Villavan Mahadeviyar. Other inscriptions relate to gifts for lamps, offerings and festivals.

There are three inscriptions of the 5th year of an unspecified Parakesari, who may be Aditya II or Uttama Chola, in view of the mention of the names of Koyil Mayilai *alias* Parantaka Muvendavelan and of Singan Kaliyan *alias* Uttama Chola Muvendavelan (45 and 46 of 1910). It may be added that the same donor figures also in an inscription of the 3rd year of Aditya II ('*Pandiyan talai-konda*') at Kumbakonam (230 of 1911).

The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. A *mukhamandapa* was added in

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the later Chola period. On the north side of this *mandapa* there is a shrine for Nataraja fashioned in the shape of a chariot. On either side of its gateway there are sculptures of Ganapati and Subrahmanyar in the places where *dvarapalas* are usually installed.

There are subshrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanyar and Chandesvarar.

The *prakara* enclosing the main shrine and its adjuncts is enclosed by a *madil* with a *gopuram* in front of the sanctum. Further to the east is the main *Raya-gopuram*. On the northern side of the main shrine there is a separate *Amman* shrine which should be assigned to the later Chola period.

As already seen, the local inscriptions point to the existence, in the days of Parantaka I, of temples dedicated to Kala Pidari and to Vishnu in addition to this Siva temple. The Siva temple itself might have been a foundation even of the days of Aditya I ; one is led to hazard this conjecture because of the installation of Ardhanarisvarar in the rear *devakoshta* of the temple, and it is rendered more plausible by the fact that the Mackenzie Manuscripts ("South Indian Temple Inscriptions") contain, in addition to a few more Parakesari inscriptions (some of which might belong to Parantaka I 8th year, 644 and 646; 13th year, 645; 17th year, 647; 21st year, 649; and 23rd year, 648 of *ibid.,* Vol. II, pp. 621 ff.), eye-copies of four Rajakesari inscriptions, of the 17th, 18th, 21st and 24th years (respectively nos. 652, 653, 655 and 651 of ibid., Vol. II), which seem to be assignable only to Aditya I owing to their high regnal years (Pls. 51, 53 to 55)[14].

Tiruch-Chadai-mudi (or Tirukkadaimudi) Udaiya Mahadevar temple
(now a Pidari temple)

Tiruchchen-nampundi

Tiruchchennampundi is a village on the southern

[14]The Government Epigraphist has been requested to have these inscriptions copied, and the results of a visit to this temple by officers of the Department are awaited.

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bank of the Kollidam, a mile to the north of Koviladi. This village seems to have been in the past a suburb of Koviladi *alias* Tirupper (-nagar). An inscription of Vikrama Chola found on the walls of the Siva temple at Koviladi refers to the temple of Tiruchchadai-mudi Udaiya Mahadevar at Tiruchchadai-mudi, a northern hamlet (*pidagai*) of the *brahmadeya* of Tirupper (A.R. no. 276 of 1901).

The existence of this temple in Pallava times is attested by the presence of inscriptions of Nandivarman III and Vijaya Nrpatunga Vikramavarman. These Pallava inscriptions are found at the entrance to, and on the pillars in front of, the temple. One of them refers to a gift by Adigal Kandan Marampavai, Queen of Nandi-pottaraiyar (Nandivarman Pallava III).

There are a large number of inscriptions of Parantaka I on the walls of the temple, ranging from his 14th year to his 37th year.[15] In the inscription of the 14th year (297 of 1901), the deity is called Tiruch-Chadai-mudi Mahadevar in *Ten-karai Idaiyarru Nadu*. In that of the 17th year (299 of 1901), one Gunavan

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15 *Tiruchchennampundi*
Sadayar Temple
SII, VII No. 502–529

Entrance— left		2 yr	Kop-Parakesari (*Chola*) (502)	
,,	— right	18 yr	Tellarerinda Nandivarman (*Pallava*) (503)	
Main shrine —	*North wall*	26 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (Parantaka I) (504)	Chola Parantaka I
,,	,,	30 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (505)	
,,	,,	34 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (506)	
,,	*South Wall*	34 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (507)	
,,	,,	18 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (508)	
,,	,,	year lost	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (509)	
,,	,,	30 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (510)	
,,	,,	20 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (511)	

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Suratongi, a member of the retinue (*parivaram*) of Nampirattiyar Arumoli Nangaiyar, the daughter of Paluvettaraiyar and the queen of Parantaka I, makes a gift of 16 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp and for some services. There is a gift made for the celebration of the festival of *Masi Makham* in his 30th year. The rest of the inscriptions refer to gifts for lamps.

Originally, this temple of Siva should have been built of brick with a *mandapa* in front supported by stone-pillars. All the Pallava inscriptions except one are on these pillars. Perhaps it was built of stone in the days of Aditya I or Parantaka I. The probabilities of this temple having been built of stone in the days of Aditya I himself are strengthened by the discovery of a stone sculpture of Ardhanarisvarar in the proximity of this temple, now preserved in the Govt. Museum, Madras (see E C A I, Pl. 2–b). At a later stage, this Siva temple might have been converted into a Pidari temple (Pl. 52).

Vedapurisvarar temple

Tirukkalittattai

Tirukkalittattai lies two miles (3.22 km.) from Tiruvidaimarudur and close to Veppattur and Tiruvisa-

(Contd. from previous page)

Mandapa	*North wall*	35 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (512)	Chola Parantaka I
,,	,,	year lost	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (513)	
,,	,,	26 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (514)	
,,	*South wall*	26 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (515)	
,,	,,	2 yr	Kop-Parakesari (516)	
,,	,,	30 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (517)	
,,	,,	14 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (518)	
,,	,,	37 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (519)	
,,	,,	17 yr	Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari (520)	
On *pillars* in front of the temple		22 yr	Ko-Vijaya Nrpatunga Vikravarman (521, 522 and 528)	
521–529			Marambavai, queen of *Nandipottaraiyan* (523 and 525)	
		18 yr	Nrpatunga (526)	
Pallava and *Muttaraiyan* (records)		13 yr	Ko-Ilango Muttaraiyan (529)	

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lur. It is called Tirukkudittittai both in the *Devaram* hymns and in the local inscriptions.

The oldest inscription in this dilapidated temple is perhaps that of the 22nd year of a Parakesarivarman (295 of 1908) who may be identified with Parantaka I. It records a gift of land for offerings to Sri Kudittittai Perumal by a member of the Assembly of Amani-Narayana Chaturvedimangalam (modern Tiruvisalur), a *devadana* and *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the Kaveri.

There is an inscription of the 7th year of 'Perumal Sundara Chola Devar who drove the Pandya into the forest'. This should be assigned to Sundara Chola. It mentions that his General (*Senapati*) called Pirantakan Siriyavelar *alias* Tiruk-Karralip-Pichchan made a grant of land, after having made it tax-free, for offerings to the temple of Kudittittai Udaiyar in Vembarrur on the northern bank of the Kaveri (291 of 1908, Epi. Indica, XII, no. 16). This donor is also mentioned in another record of Sundara Chola (302 of 1908), but it is damaged. There are two records of this chief at Tiruvisalur : an inscription of the 2nd year of Rajakesarivarman mentions that Pirantakan Ilangolan *alias* Siriyavelar of Kodumbalur made a gift of land for providing a sumptuous meal at noon for a brahman; and in the 4th year of the same ruler, provision is made for the sacred midday offerings to the Lord at Tiruvisalur (317 and 320 of 1907; also, 40 of 1907 of the 5th year of Sundara Chola).

We know from an inscription of Rajaraja I that this chief, Siriyavelar, died in the battle-field in Ceylon during the war with the Pandyas and the Ceylonese, waged in the 9th year of Ponmaligaittunjina Devar, i.e., Sundara Chola (116 of 1896).

From an inscription of the 14th year of Rajakesarivarman, which should be assigned to Sundara Chola, we learn that the wife, daughter and son of this chief

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Siriya Velan, called Rajadichchi, Kunjaramalli and Velan Sundara Chola respectively made endowments for memorial lamps to be burnt in the temple after the death of the chief (299 of 1908).

In an inscription of the 3rd year of Rajakesarivarman, perhaps Rajaraja I, Kilanadigal, the daughter of Vilupparaiyar and the queen of Uttama Chola, makes a grant of land for offerings and for the supply of 108 pots of water for ceremonial baths on monthly *sankrantis* to the temple of Mahadevar of Avani Narayana Chaturvedimangalam.

Another Rajakesari record (297 of 1908, year lost) mentions a gift of a silver pot weighing 181½ *kalanju* to the temple of Sri Kudittittai Mahadevar by the great royal benefactress, Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola.

This temple should be assigned to the days of Parantaka I.

Sivalokanathasvamin temple

Gramam (Mudiyur)

What was called *Tirumundisvaram* in the period of the Tamil saint Appar and *Mouli-gramam* in the days of Parantaka I has now come to be called simply Gramam. It is described as having been situated on the south bank of the Pennai; the river flowing by the side of this village is now called the Malattar. The village lies 2 miles (3.22 km.) to the west of the Madras-Tiruchy trunk road on the road branching off from it at the 107th mile-stone and leading to Tirukkoyilur. Appar (7th century A.D.) has a decad of verses on the Lord of this temple, which was known in ancient inscriptions as that of *Arruttali Mahadevar* but is now called that of Sivalokanathasvamin.

This place played a leading part in the latter part of the reign of Parantaka I. When the northern frontier of the Chola kingdom was threatened by the Rashtrakutas, a military station seems to have been set up

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here to protect the northern frontier against the foreign threat. Rajaditya, the eldest son of Parantaka I, was placed in charge of this northern command to stem the tide of this foreign invasion.

The neighbouring town of Tirunavalur *alias* Tirunamanallur, hallowed by the memory of the Tamil Saint Sundaramurti Nayanar, came to be called Rajadittapuram, and its temple was renamed Rajadityesvaram. The mention of Rajaditya's cavalry and his elephant corps and the presence of a Kerala General at Tirunamanallur renamed Rajadittapuram, made the late Venkayya surmise that "Tirunamanallur was the capital of the province governed by Rajaditya during the reign of Parantaka I". Though the two places, Gramam and Tirunamanallur, are close to each other, I am inclined to hold that the capital of the provincial government of Rajaditya might have been located at Mouli-gramam (=coronation-village, or, in Tamil, Mudiyur conveying the same meaning) rather than at Tirunamanallur *alias* Rajadityapuram. It seems very probable that Rajaditya was crowned here as heir-apparent, as the name Mouli-gramam would signify.

The Gramam inscriptions mention a number of gifts by the Kerala general of Rajaditya and his retinue. He is called Vellan Kumaran, and he is said to have been a native of Puttur on the banks of the river Nandi ('Nandikkarai Puttur') in Malainadu. He is called a *Chamu-nayaka* (=Leader of the army or General) in the Sanskrit portion of an inscription (755 of 1905 : dated A.D. 943)[16] and Perum-padai nayakan (=Great

[16]See the Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for 1905-06, "Gramam Inscription of Parantaka I".

Sanskrit part, ll. 2 to 5 : "Uttama Keralanam Rajadityasya sakshad avichalita Chamu-nayako Madurantakah Mouligramedhi Pennatata-dharani sila mandiram....."

Tamil part, ll. 16 to 37 : "Svasti Sri Kaliyuga varsham nalayirattu narpattu nalu Madiraikonda kop Parakesari-panmarkku yandu 36-avadu kaliyuga nal padinangu nurayirattu eluba (elula) irattu muppattu elaha Tirumudiyur Arrut-

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General) of Rajaditya and the *Mula-bhritya* (the first servant) of the Cholas in the Tamil part thereof. He was the builder of the Gramam temple.

There is an interesting inscription of Kannara-deva (Rashtrakuta Krishna III) found at Solapuram. It is dated in three different ways, mentioning (i) merely the year two, (ii) the *saka* year 871 and (iii) the year in which the Emperor Kannara-deva entered Tondai-mandalam.[17] Hultzsch has rightly identified the 'year two' of the record with the second year of the accession ofRajaditya as crown prince, and it should have been in that year that Kannara-deva invaded and entered Tondaimandalam after defeating Rajaditya and causing his death at the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949). The Atakur inscription (*saka* 872) mentions that Rajaditya was killed in the battle of Takkolam by Butuga II, the ally of Krishna III, and that he was rewarded for his services by a gift of a number of villages. This is reinforced by a Viragal inscription found at Neralige on the borders of Mysore State. The Larger Leyden grant states that Rajaditya "went to the world of heroes, having been pierced in the heart while seated on his elephant." Hence Rajaditya is referred to frequently in later times as *Anai-merrunjina-devar*.

An apartment of royal ladies at the palace of Tanjavur was called *Kilar Velam* after the name of "Udaiya Pirattiyar Kilanadigal, the mother of the Chola prince

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talip Perumanadigal..... tiruk karraliyaha amaippittu— Siru Arruttalip Perumanadigalai tiruk karraliyin ulnee puha elundaruluvittu pratishtai seivittar Solarkal Mula-bhrityar Sri Pirantaka-devar ana Sri Virasolap Perumanadigal maganar Rajadityadeva perumbadi nayakar Malainattu Nandikkarai Puttur Vellan Kumaran."

The date is interesting : the 4,044th year of the *kali* era and the 14,77,037th day from the commencement of that era, which corresponds to (a day in) the 36th year of Parantaka I. This is equated with the 14th of January, A.D.943.

[17]"Svasti sri yandu irandu saka varsham ennurru elupatti onru Chakravarti Kannara-deva Vallabhan Rajadittanai erindu Tondaimandalam Puhundavandu" (Epi. Indica, VII, p. 195).

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Anaimerrunjinar" (226 of 1911). This kilanadigal is identical with Kok-Kilanadigal, the queen of Parantaka I and mother of Rajaditya *alias* Mummadi Chola. One of Rajaditya's queens, called Irayiravan Devi Ammanar, makes in the 8th year of a Parakesarivarman perhaps Parantaka I a gift to the shrine of Sri Krishna and Rukmini at Tiruvellarai (212 of 1911).

There are on the walls of this temple a number of inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 23rd to his 41st year. In the 23rd year and again in the 29th year of his reign, Vellan Kumaran, the General of Rajaditya, makes a gift of a lamp to the deity of this temple called *Mulasthanattu Mahadevar* of the temple of *Arruttali* at *Tiru-mudiyur*. But the most important inscription of the days of Parantaka I is the one already mentioned, that refers to the construction of the stone-temple and the consecration of the *linga* of *Arruttali Mahadevar* at Mouligramam. The earlier gifts to the old temple (perhaps of brick) should have been re-engraved on the walls of the newly-built *stone* temple.

The conquest of this region by Krishna III is attested by three inscriptions of his on the walls of this temple (of his 20th, 22nd and 25th years). The conquerors did not disturb the even tenor of life in respect of religious and charitable institutions; indeed, sometimes they even made their own additions to enrich them.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 13 ft. 6. in. (4.11 m.) side. The basement has plain mouldings. The *ardhamandapa* measures 9 ft. 1 in. (2.77 m.). from east to west. There are three niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and two in the *ardhamandapa*. Each niche is flanked by two pilasters and two more at the ends of the wall.

The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali*-frieze above it (Pls. 56 to 65).

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Tiruttondisvaram Udaiyar
(Bhaktajanesvaram) temple

Tirunamanallur (Tirunavalur)

Tirunamanallur is a village on the north bank of the Gadilam river, about a mile (1.61 km.) to the east on the branch road to Cuddalore from the 113th milestone of the Madras-Tiruchy trunk road. This place holds an honoured place in Saivite hagiology as the birth-place of the Tamil saint Sundaramurti Nayanar.

There were once three Siva temples and a Vishnu temple here. One of the Siva temples was an old Pallava temple called Kalinarisvaram, perhaps so named after a Pallava king Kalinari. There was a sculptured stone which bore the figure of a kneeling elephant, and on the back of the animal a *howdah* with a stout male person reclining on it, and there was a single-word inscription *"Sri-Kalinari"* in *Pallavagrantha* characters. The rider of the elephant is perhaps meant to represent the Pallava king; and the temple of Isvara built by him was called Kalinarisvaram. This temple is said to have been demolished by the local people (365 and 376 of 1902, and Epi. Indica no. 19, pp. 132 ff.).

An inscription of the 32nd year of Parantaka I (348 of 1902) records a gift by a member of the retinue of Pillaiyar Rajaditta-devar for a perpetual lamp to the *Tiru-merrali Maha Vishnu* temple at Tirunavalur in Tirumunaip-padi-nadu. Therefore the existence here of a Vishnu temple in the days of Parantaka I is established beyond doubt; it is a pity that there is no trace of it now.

The existence of two other temples, both Siva, whose principal deities were called Rajaditta Isvarrattu Mahadevar and Tiru Agastyesvarattu Mahadevar is recorded in an inscription of the 29th year of Parantaka I (347 of 1902). The Agastyesvaram temple cannot be traced now. The only important temple extant in the village is the Rajaditta Isvaram, otherwise (and

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commonly) known as Bhaktajanesvaram or Tiruttondisvaram.

There are two inscriptions, one of a Rajakesari and the other of a Parakesari, both of whom cannot be identified. There are 29 inscriptions relating to Parantaka I and ranging from his 17th to his 39th year. His earliest inscription (of the 17th year : 377 of 1902) calls the temple Tiruttondisvarattu-devar Koyil of Tirunavalur in Melur-nadu of Tirumunaippadi-nadu. The inscription of his 28th year (335 of 1902) records that the temple of Tiruttondisvarar of Tirunavalur was constructed of stone by Rajaditta-devar; and a member of the retinue of his mother ('Tayar Nampirattiyar Kok-Kilanadigal') made a gift of a lamp-stand and 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp. The wording of the inscription also admits of the interpretation that the temple was built by the mother of Rajaditya (in his name, instead of by Rajaditya himself).[18]

From this time on (even from about the 28th year of Parantaka I), the temple had the alternate name, Rajaditya Isvaram. And there are recorded a number of endowments by the members of the retinue, military officers and soldiers, most of them Malayalis who belonged to the regiment of Pillaiyar Rajaditya and were perhaps stationed at the neighbouring military station of Mouli-Gramam.

An inscription of the 38th year of Parantaka I refers to the gift of a lamp to Kuttap-Perumal (Nataraja) by a merchant of Tirunavalur. The elder brother of queen Mahadevadigal, queen of Pillaiyar Rajaditta-devar and daughter of Iladaraiyar, makes a gift of 100 sheep for a lamp to this temple in the 39th year of Parantaka I (362 of 1902).

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18 "Svasti Sri Madirai-konda Kop Parakesari-panmarkku yandu irupattettavadu Tirumunaippadit Tirunavalur Tiruttondisvaram Tirukkarrali seyvitta Rajaditta-devar tayar Nampirattiyar Kokkilanadigal parivarattalSittira Komalam vaitta nonda-vilakkonrukku vaitta sava-muvap peradu tonnuru ilavilakkonru."

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The political anarchy that prevailed in the region consequent on the Rashtrakuta invasion (A.D. 953–954) is reflected by two inscriptions being issued with *saka* dates without the name of the reigning king being mentioned. One of these concerns a gift of a lamp to this temple in *saka* year 875 (A.D. 953) by one Munai-yadaraiyan Kulamanikka Raman Devan.

The occupation of the northern part of the Chola country by the Rashtrakuta King, Krishna III, is attested by the inscriptions of his 17th, 19th and 28th years (covering the period A.D. 957–968); he styles himself as 'Kannara-deva who conquered Kachchi and Tanjai (Kanchi and Tanjavur). It was only in the days of Rajaraja I that the final re-conquest of, and consolidation of Chola rule over, this region took place.

Tiruttondisvarar received the devoted homage and munificence of kings and nobles, princes and peasants throughout the long and glorious period of Chola rule.[19]

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[19] An inscription of the 18th year and 270th day of Rajaraja I (370 of 1902) records the enquiry by a royal officer into the income of paddy and gold due to the temple from the *Kudi-ningadevadanam* of Tirunavalur. He found that the original documents of the capital endowments could not be traced perhaps as a result of the political disorder in the land, and therefore he ordered a fresh measurement and assessment of lands, and directed that the Nagarattar (merchant guild) of the place should pay to the temple 700 *kalam* of paddy and 30 *kalanju* of gold. Thus we see that periodical audits and enquiries into irregularities in the administration of local bodies and temples and setting them right were a normal feature of Chola rule.

There are two other interesting inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I. An inscription of his 21st year mentions a gift of a forehead-plate *(pattam)* weighing 21 *kalanju* and 6 *manjadi* of gold to the "Lord who bestows grace by Dancing" *("Sri Koyilil adi arulukinra kuttarkku")*. Perhaps this is a reference to the Nataraja bronze in the temple itself. The other inscription, of the 24th year, mentions that a royal officer, during his supervision of, and enquiry into, the affairs of the temple found that gifts made in earlier years had *not* been inscribed on the temple walls, and he ordered that they be engraved immediately.

A set of costly jewels set with precious stones was presented to Adavallan (Nataraja) in the days of Rajendra I (360 of 1902).

King Vira Rajendra himself made a gift of land to the temple (371 of 1902). Several gifts of lamps made in the days of Kulottunga I are recorded. A feudatory of Kulottunga II *(Anapaya)* makes a *makara-torana* (arch or aureole) out of 100 *kalanju* of gold for Nataraja (kuttadum devar) and also presents several silver and bronze utensils useful for worship.

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In addition to the bronzes of Nataraja and Bhikshatanar, this temple has excellent metals of Sundaramurti and his two consorts and of his patron Munaiyadaraiyan (or could it be of Siva?).

The *garbhagriha* is 15 ft. 6 in. (4.72 m.) square. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 9 ft. 7 in. (2.92 m.). The niches are adorned with two short pilasters. The basement has plain mouldings followed up by lotus and *yali*- friezes and *kumudam* mouldings. Over the *palagai* of the pilaster and below the cornice, there are dancing figures. There is a figure of Dakshinamurti in the southern niche. There is a frieze of *bhutaganas* below the cornice and a *yali*-frieze above. There is an image of a drummer at the east end (the northern face) of the pilaster. There is no *antarala*. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are square: but they are modern (Pls. 66 to 70).

Kadambavanesvarar temple
(Urumur Siru Tirukkoyil)

Erumbur (Urumur)

Erumbur, known in the early Chola period as Urumur, is now an insignificant village in the South Arcot district of Tamil nadu, situated 14 miles (22.53 km.) from Chidambaram on the main road to Vriddhachalam and about 3 miles (4.83 m.) from Settiyatoppu, which is on the trunk road from Madras to the Lower Anicut. It has an ancient Chola temple, known as the Siru Tirukkoyil.

There is an inscription on the southern wall of the main shrine, on the proper left of the Dakshinamurti image. It is dated in the 28th year of Madurai-konda Parakesari (=A.D. 935). It mentions that the *vimana* (the sanctum with its superstructure) together with the sub-shrines for the *ashta-parivara-devatas* (the eight subsidiary deities) round the main shrine, was constructed of stone by one Irungolan Gunavan Aparajitan. In the inscription, this village is called Urumur and described as a *devadana* village situated in the *Kurram* (a

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territorial division equivalent to a taluk) of Navalur on the northern bank of the Kaveri. In the days of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118–1135), it was renamed Vikrama Chola Chaturvedimangalam. The presiding deity of the temple is called Perumanadigal of Urumur Siru Tirukkoyil and in later times as Kadambavanesvaram. The temple is said to have been constructed with the permission of the king, 'Cholap-Perumanadigal Sri Parantaka-devar' at the request of the donor.

It should be mentioned that this inscription relating to the date of construction of the temple of stone is not the earliest inscription found on its walls. There are a few belonging to a certain Parakesarivarman, presumably Parantaka I himself, from his 5th to his 16th regnal years, and three of Madurai-konda Parakesari. These refer to a period earlier than the recorded date of the construction of this *stone* temple, and they may relate to endowments made earlier. South Indian Epigraphy records many instances of such re-copying and re-inscribing of earlier grants after the completion of the construction or renovation of temples.

The temple faces the east. As in the case of most Early Chola temples, the central shrine of the original stone-temple of the days of Parantaka I was made up of only two parts, the sanctum and the *ardhamandapa* in front. The *garbhagriha* measures 15 ft. 2 in. square in the exterior and 8 ft. 4 in. square in the interior (respectively 4.62 m. and 2.54 m.), and the *ardha-mandapa* measures 11 ft. by 7 ft. (3.35 m. by 2.13 m.) outside. The basement has plain mouldings. The present dome-shaped *sikhara* over the sanctum is a later structure of *brick*. Perhaps the old *sikhara* had collapsed and a new partial brick structure was built in its place. The walls of the *garbhagriha* have niches on the three sides of the exterior, and there are stone images of exquisite beauty in them : Dakshinamurti

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in the south, Arunachalesvarar (or Siva as Mahayogi) in the west and Brahma in the north. These are good specimens of Early Chola sculptures of the days of Parantaka I (10th century) which could be definitely dated (Pls. 71 to 76).

There are around the main shrine one or two empty sub-shrines built of brick, but there are now no traces of the *ashta-parivara devatas*. The icons of Nandi and Bhairavar are now found deposited in the *mukha-mandapa*. This is a later structure, 29 ft. by 24½ ft. (8.84 m. by 7.47 m.), with an arch roof in brick and mortar. In the northern projection of this *mukhamandapa* there is a shrine of the Goddess (Amman); the only inscription which refers to this Goddess is that of a Pandyan ruler Maravarman Vira Pandya (A.D. 1267), by whose time the Chola power had eclipsed and their country had passed under Pandyan hegemony. It is very probable that the *Amman* shrine and the *mukha-mandapa* of brick belong to the 13th century A.D.

There are traces of a brick wall of enclosure with a gate-way in the east, enclosing the main shrine and the subsidiary shrines ; and in the foundation, we find large-sized bricks (measuring 1 ft. 2 in. by 7½ in. by 2¾ in. =35.6 cm. by 19.1 cm. by 7 cm.), which may well be of Early Chola days.

The Erumbur temple is an Early Chola temple of the time of Parantaka I which can be *definitely dated* (A.D. 935). The main shrine of the original temple was a *karrali* consisting only of the *garbhagriha* with its superstructure and the *ardhamandapa* in front of it. It had eight subsidiary shrines round the main shrine and we have here unimpeachable contemporary evidence thereof in an inscription on the very walls of the main shrine. Based on the evidence provided by some other Early Chola temples, we learn that the eight *parivara-devatas* are : Surya, the Saptamatrikas, Ganesa, Subrahmanyar, Jyeshtha-devi, Chandra, Chandesvarar

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and Bhairavar. (The adverse preachings of the Tamil saints, the Alvars and the Nayanmars, led to the neglect of the worship of the Saptamatrikas and of Jyeshtha Devi). We find this feature of subsidiary shrines also in the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai and in many other Early Chola temples, but only here do we have *inscriptional* evidence to prove conclusively that the building of *eight* shrines round the main Siva shrine to house the subsidiary deities was a concomitant feature of the Early Chola temples. This direct testimony is of inestimable value to students interested in the evolution of South Indian temple architecture. The practice of building eight sub-shrines for the *ashta-parivara-devatas* continued even into the days of Rajaraja I. This is proved by an inscription of his 10th year found at Tiruppurambiyam (72 of 1897 and no. 21 of SII, VI : see my article on this temple in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, June-Dec. 1939 and in *Lalit Kala* no. 13).[20]

1 *Sri Viranarayanasvamin temple* (*Vishnu*)

2 *Sri Anantisvarasvamin temple* (*Siva*)

Kattumannargudi (Udaiyargudi)

Kattumannargudi is a village about 16 miles (25.75 km.) from Chidambaram and 8 miles (12.87 km.) from Gangaikonda-cholapuram, on the northern bank of the Kollidam, a branch of the Kaveri. It is famous in Vaishnavite hagiology as the birth-place of Nadamuni and of his grandson Yamunachariyar *alias* Alavandar, the spiritual preceptor of Ramanuja. It was due to the devoted efforts of Nadamuni that the works of the Vaishnavite Saint, Nammalvar, were recovered from oblivion. This feat of his is considered a miracle of as much importance as the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns by Nambi Andar Nambi in the days of Rajaraja I.

Kattumannargudi was known to the Vaishnavites as

[20] The dates given in the captions of the sculptures (plates) are misprinted as 12th century instead of 10th century.

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Viranarayanapuram and in inscriptions it is called Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam. This place is really a creation of Parantaka I, whose surname 'Vira Narayana' it bears. The Kanyakumari inscription tells us that "the destroyer of his enemies, Parantaka brought into existence numerous villages of great wealth like Viranarayanam just as Brahma created *Svarga,* and caused them to be enjoyed by learned brahmans". This is the most celebrated of the villages created by him to be colonised by learned brahmans. By its side is the famous irrigation tank, also a creation of his and named after him as *Viranarayanan eri* popularly known as *Viranam eri.* It is one of the biggest of irrigation tanks in the Tamil country.

1. *Viranarayanasvamin temple* (*Vishnu*) (Viranarayana Vinnagaram)

There are two temples in this place, one dedicated to Vishnu and the other to Siva. The Vishnu temple was called Viranarayana Vinnagaram and the presiding deity thereof Viranarayana Emperuman. This temple was repaired in the 13th century A.D. But, in this case, the traditional practice of preserving the old inscriptions by first preparing copies thereof and then re-engraving them on the walls of the newly-built temple had not been followed, with the result that the valuable old records are lost for ever and our knowledge of the local and dynastic history has greatly suffered. The chief inscriptions now found on the walls of the temple are those of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya surnamed Ponmeynda Perumal (acc. A.D. 1251), Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (acc. A.D. 1283), and the later Pallava king Kopperunjinga (acc. A.D. 1243). Sundara Pandya set up an image of himself calling it Ponmeynda Perumal, and instituted a service called *Sundara Pandyan Sandhi.* The main deity of this temple was called Madurapuri Emperuman by him, and the village renamed as Sundara Pandya Chaturvedimangalam.

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2. *Udaiyargudi, Anantisvarasvamin temple* (*Siva*)

Udaiyargudi is a subrub of Kattumannargudi, and the presiding deity of this Siva temple is called Anantisvarasvamin. The original temple of the days of Paran taka I is preserved nearly intact, though with slight modifications due to later repairs and deterioration caused by the passage of time. There are eight inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 33rd year to his 38th. How much prior to his 33rd (regnal) year the temple and the colony came into existence, we are not in a position to say. Most of the endowments recorded here are gifts of lands or money for feeding learned brahmans and for burning lamps in the temple. And the deity is referred to in them as Perumanadigal at Tiru Anantisvaram or as Anantisvaram Udaiyar at Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam. An inscription of his 38th year (604 of 1920) mentions that the Assembly of the village met in the hall built by Tennavan Vilupparaiyan, called by the king '*Nam Mahanar*' (which expression may mean 'our son' or 'our feudatory chief'). It registers a grant of three *veli* of land by a native of Devan Mangalam to meet the expenses of feeding 25 brahmans, and the king is said to have remitted the taxes on the land.

There are a number of Rajakesari inscriptions from the 2nd to the 12th regnal years, without distinguishing epithets. They should belong to Gandaraditya or to Sundara Chola and a few even to Rajaraja I. One such inscription of the 4th year and 20th day (580 of 1920) is interesting, as it gives an insight into the composition of local bodies in charge of village administration. The Government Epigraphist says that it may be an inscription of Gandaraditya or of Sundara Chola. The inscription is unfortunately worn out and incomplete. It registers an order of the body called the *Perumakkal* (=Great men or Elders) which looked

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after the *gramakaryam* (village affairs) for the year : it is said to have consisted of 120 *members* ('*samvatsaram gramakaryam tiruttukinra* 120-*mar Perumakkal eluttu*').

A piece of land was endowed for daily offerings and worship to this deity by the *Perunguri Perumakkal* (General Assembly), but it was not in enjoyment for sometime. Meanwhile, there took place a re-formation of the village resulting in the creation of new wards (*puduk-kudumbu ittuk-kondamaiyil*). So there was need for an exchange (*nilai-maraga*) of a new piece of land for the land already gifted. This exchange was done by an order of the *Perumakkal*. That this village had wards (*kudumbu*) as at Uttaramerur, Sendalai and other places, and that the body called *Perunguri Perumakkal* consisted of 120 members are interesting details which give us a peep into the composition and working of local self-governing bodies in the 10th century A.D. It seems to be a real representative deliberative body with deep roots in the soil.

In some villages colonised by brahmans, there was a body of learned men; such a local body was called (585 of 1920) '*Sasanabaddha Chaturvedi Bhattap Perumbadi Sahasradanap Perumakkal*' : it was entrusted with the management of charitable endowments. One sekkilan Araiyan Sankaranarayanan *alias* Chola Muttaraiyan of Merppaluvur purchased ten plots of land from several persons and left them for charitable purposes to be managed by this body of Vedic scholars. The inscription may belong to the period of Sundara Chola. Similar bodies were in existence in other villages like Srinivasanallur and Sembiyan Mahadevi (588 of 1904 and 496 of 1925).

The mother of Parantaka (II) Sundara Chola and the queen of Arinjaya figures in three inscriptions of the 12th and 14th years of a Rajakesarivarman who may be identified with Sundara Chola (572, 587 and

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589 of 1920). The first refers to a gift of land by 'Viman Kundavaiyar, the mother of Parantaka (II), son of Arinjaya' for providing the sacred bath with a thousand pots of water to Tiru Anantisvarattup-Paramasvami at Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam on the *sankranti* day every month: "*snapanam attuvadarkku Sri Arinjaya Parantaka-devar tangal achchiyar Udaiyapirattiyar Viman Kundavaiyar kondu kudutta bhumi*". The second records two royal gifts : Adittan Kodaip-Pirattiyar, queen of 'Arinjigai-panmar who died at Arrur', makes provision for the sacred bath of the Lord with 108 pots of water and for offerings to Him; in the same inscription, an additional grant of land is made by Viman Kundavaiyar (above-mentioned) by way of supplementing her original endowment for the sacred bath of the deity with 1,000 pots of water.

A gift of a lamp-stand weighting 150 *palams* and of land for a lamp is made by one Adittan Bhattalakan in the 17th year of a Rajakesarivarman. One wonders whether this could be assigned to Sundara Chola despite the high regnal year.

There are a number of Parakesari inscriptions without distinguishing epithets. A few of them might belong to Uttama Chola.

An inscription of 'Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya' (Aditya II : 2nd year, 555 of 1920) states that one Araiyan Geyavitankan of the *'Taya-tongat Terinja Kaikkolar'* built shrines to *Kuttap-Perumal* (Nataraja) to the south of the stone-temple of Tiru Anantisvara-devar, and also to Ganapati and Pichchar (=Bhikshatanar). Inthe same(second) year of the same king, a gift of three *kasu* is made by a donor bearing the same name as above, but here he is described as a member of the *'Singalantakat-Terinja Kaikkolar'*; out of the interest of the endowment, a pair of cloth was to be supplied to *Kuttap-Perumal* of the stone-temple of Tiru Anantisvaram (557 of

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1920). There are a few more inscriptions of this ruler : they refer to gifts for lamps and for the sacred bath to the Lord after *Tirup-palli-ezhuchi* (the Lord's ceremonial rising from bed).

In the 2nd year of a Parakesarivarman, perhaps Uttama Chola, a gift of 12½ *kalanju* of gold is made by Paluvettaraiyar Kodandanar Tappilidharman for a lamp in the central shrine of the temple (609 of 1920). Another inscription of the same second year (594 of 1920) refers to a gift of gold by Koyil Perral *alias* Vanavan Madeviyar, daughter of Pupala Sekharaiyar, for a lamp and mid-day offerings in the temple and for feeding once a day a brahman learned in the Vedas.

A gift of 96 sheep and a ram for a lamp is made in the same year to Tiru Anantisvarattu Alvar of Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam by Pirantakan Madevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Madevadigal, the peerless philanthropist and queen of Gandaraditya (who is here called 'Merkkelundarulina-devar').[21]

One Sembiyan Muvendavelan of Panippakkam made, in the 10th year of Parakesarivarman, a gift of 20 *ilakkasu* for a lamp (554 of 1920; also 593 of 1920). In the same year, one Nambi-enban built a feeding-house and made a gift of land for feeding 100 brahmans in it (578 of 1920).

In the 12th year of Parakesarivarman, to be identified as Uttama Chola, one Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Kandan

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[21]Epi. Rep. no 540 of 1920. I do not feel fully satisfied by the explanation given for this title by the late A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar, though I agree with him that "its significance is not quite clear". "It is possible," he says, "that he had lost his life in one of the skirmishes with Rashtrakuta Krishna III's army in occupation that may have occurred in the western frontier, that this event was sought to be euphemistically expressed as a *journey to the west* from which, however, the king probably never returned alive."

Gandaraditya was a saintly character and the author of devotional poems of some merit, in particular of the *Tiru Isaippa*. He might have died of a fasting penance if *'Merkkiruttal'*, like 'Vadakkiruttal', can be taken to be a euphemistic Tamil idiom for death by fasting. We have to keep an open mind till we get more light on this expression (Epi. Indica, XXVI, No. 8, p. 84).

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Sundara Chola made a gift of land for feeding five brahmans every day and for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple for the merit of his younger brother, Kandan Satrubhayankaranar (592 of 1920). Another record of the same year and of the same king mentions a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold for the consecration of an image of Surya-deva set up by Kundavaiyar, who is perhaps to be identified with the daughter of Sundara Chola and elder sister of Rajaraja I (606 of 1920). A further gift of 25 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to be burnt in front of it is also mentioned.

Kali Karrali, a member of the Udaiyar Karikala-Solat-Terinja Kaikkolar (named after Aditya II *alias* Karikala), makes a gift for maintaining musicians to attend on Lord Tirumullur Udaiya Paramesvarar of Tirumullur *alias* Simhavishnu Chaturvedimangalam (617 of 1920) in a record of the 14th year of a Parakesari-varman (Uttama Chola).

The *vaniyars* (oil-mongers) made a gift of land (and a further payment of gold for reclaiming it) in Vira-narayana Chaturvedimangalam and Nindanallur for feeding 100 brahmans for the merit of an uncle of the donors, in the feeding-house erected by them, in the 16th year of Parakesari Uttama Chola.

There are two important inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I. An inscription of the 2nd year of a Rajakesari-varman (577 of 1920) should be assigned to him. The Emperor (*Chakravarti*) issued an order (*Sri-mukham*) to the *Perunguri Perumakkal* (Great men of the General Assembly) of Sri Vira-Narayana Chatur-vedimangalam to confiscate the lands and houses not only of those guilty of treachery and treason (*'drohihal'*), for complicity in the murder of 'Karikala Chola who took the head of the Pandya' (i.e., Rajaraja's elder brother, Aditya II : *'Pandiyanait talai konda karikala Cholanaik konru drohihalana'*), but also of those near to them by blood. Two royal officers, Brahmasrirajan

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of Kottaiyur and Chandrasekhara Bhattan of Pullamangalam were sent by the king to secure the confiscated lands and houses. It was further stipulated that these properties were directed to be sold by the Assembly in consultation with the royal officers at the current normal rate adopted in the day-to-day transactions, and the amount thus realised was to be remitted into the treasury (*talam*). These lands (of total extent two and three-fourths plus 1/20th of a *veli*) and six residential houses were sold by the *sabha* to Bharatan *alias* Vyala Gajamalla Pallavaraiyan for 150 *kalanju* of gold. The purchaser then endowed these lands and houses for feeding one brahman who supplied water in the hall called the 'Three-thousand and six hundred' *alias 'Nilaiyambaram'* (perhaps the *Brahmasthana* of the village in front of the Alvar shrine in the temple of Tiru Anantisvaram in the village), ten other brahmans and five *Sivayogins*. Thus did Rajaraja avenge the dastardly murder of his brother; it may be added that retributive justice could not be meted out perhaps as long as Uttama Chola was alive.

An inscription of the 27th year of Rajaraja I mentions that the Assembly of Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam met in the hall called *Rajarajan* and decided that a fourth share of all the lands and tanks within the hamlets of the village should be considered as belonging to the Tiru Anantisvaram temple. Perhaps this decision was called for in order to settle some long-standing disputes between the authorities of the two temples, of Siva and Vishnu.

Rajendra I calls the Lord of Anantisvaram 'Our chief family deity' (*Nam Mula-daivam*), and his queen, Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar Vanavan Mahadeviyar made provision for offerings and worship to the two images of Chandrasekharap-Perumal and his Consort—the images were also set up by her—at the time of their being taken out in procession during the *Sribali*

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ceremony and during festivals (624 of 1920 : 8th year).

Another inscription mentions a gift, by certain Kaikkolars of the village, of an umbrella made up of a handle weighing 27-1/2 *kalanju* of gold and adorned with 19,908 pearls. The magnitude of the gift is an index of the hold of the temple on the affection and devotion of the people.

The *garbhagriha* is a square of side 20 ft. (6.10 m.). The *devakoshtas* project forward. There is an *antarala,* 31 ft. by 15 ft. (9.45 m. by 4.57 m.) between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa.* The *ardhamandapa* extends forward 26 ft. 6 in. (8.08 m.). This is supported by four round pillars with bulbous capital (Pls. 77 to 80).

The pilasters have a *hamsa-vari;* the *bhutaganas* and the cornice are intact. The original *sikhara* is no longer there.

This city, with the two temples of Siva and Vishnu, was a creation of Parantaka I himself.

Abhiramesvarar temple
(Tiruvamattur Perumanadigal)

Tiruvamattur

Tiruvamattur is in South Arcot district, about 4 miles (6.44 km.) from Villupuram, on a village-road branching off at the first milestone on the road from Villupuram to Gingee. The temple of Abhiramesvarar here is an Early Chola temple of the days of Parantaka I.

There are a number of Parakesari inscriptions ranging from the 3rd to the 16th year, without any distinguishing epithets. Some of them at least could be assigned to Parantaka I. One of the 3rd year (425 of 1903), records a gift of ten *pon* for a perpetual lamp to Tiruvamattur Perumanadigal by Parabhumikan Mallan *alias* Gandaraditta Pallavaraiyan, an officer of Gandaraditya, son of Parantaka I. This may therefore be taken to be an inscription of the days of Parantaka I.

On the west base of the central shrine, there is an

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inscription of the 6th year of a Parakesari (413 of 1903); this mentions the architect-cum-sculptor (*sthapati*) who constructed the temple : *"it tali seyda Arukur tachchan Naranan Vekandan ahiya Tiruvamattur Acharyan"*, i.e., Naranan Vekandan *alias* Tiruvamattur Acharyan of Arukur. The end of the inscription is built in. Though incomplete, it is nevertheless interesting, since only rarely do we get the names of the artisans connected with building of temples in South Indian Epigraphy. Two more inscriptions, of the 15th and 16th years (408 and 417 of 1903) should also be attributed to Parantaka I.

There are also a number of inscriptions of Parantaka I, with his usual title of 'Madirai-konda Parakesari', ranging from his 15th to his 41st year. One possibly of his 11th year (the date is uncertain as the relevant line stops with *pati*. . . ., and the gap can be filled up to give us any one of the years 11 and 13 to 18; in any event, the year is later than the 10th and earlier than the 20th) records that the *mahout* of the temple-elephant which carried the *sri-bali* of the Perumanadigal of Tiruvamattur lost the share of land allotted to him with the effect that the ceremony itself came to a standstill. Then the *Pan-Mahesvaras* of the temple went in appeal to the king. The king, 'Parakesari Sri Parantakadeva', thereupon ordered the restoration of this gift; the royal order(*Sri-mukham*) was duly communicated to the king's officer in charge of the administration of the district, one Chola-sikhamanippallavaraiyan, who regularised the gift (423 of 1903). Any irregularity in the management of temple-charities thus received the prompt attention of the king and his officers, and speedy justice was meted out. This is a laudable feature of Chola administration. The rest of the inscriptions of Parantaka I concern gifts for lamps.

The donor who figures in the inscription of the 3rd year of Parakesari already referred to (425 of 1903),

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Parabhumikan Mallan *alias* Gandaraditya Pallavaraiyan, makes a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for two lamps to this temple, not in any regnal year but in the *saka* year 879 (equivalent to A.D. 957 : no. 426 of 1903). In this inscription, he is called the 'Lord of the *nadu* of Karppundi' ('*Karppundi-nadu Udaiyar*'). This clearly indicates the political unrest in, and the overthrow of Chola rule over, this region on account of the Rashtrakuta invasion. This record also strengthens our ascribing the earlier record of the 3rd year of Parakesari (425 of 1903) to Parantaka I.

Two inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman (3rd year : 405 of 1903, and 5th year : 27 of 1922) may be assigned to Sundara Chola, and both concern gifts for lamps.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 20 ft. (6.10 m.) side. The basement is 6 ft. 8 in. (2.03 m.) high. There is an *antarala* between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* and another between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. In front of the *mukhamandapa,* there is a later *mahamandapa*. The whole complex measures 75 ft. (22.86 m.) from east to west.

The *devakoshtas* are projections from the main wall of the *garbhagriha*. The images found in these *koshtas* are *Bhikshatanar* Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga (Pls. 81 - 83).

The four central pillars of the *ardhamandapa* are missing, but their corbels, with their roll-ornament and central band, are intact.

It is an *ekatala* structure. The *Sikhara* is new.[22]

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22 *Later inscriptions* : A record of Rajaraja I (year built in) mentions that one Gunasekharan of Vesalippadi made a gift of a jewelled gold vessel for the sacred Adavallan (Nataraja) of Tiruvamattur and a pair of bracelets set with precious stones to the deity.

An enquiry into the affairs of the temple is recorded in three inscriptions of Rajaraja I of the 23rd to the 26th years. A certain Tamulan Korran Angi of Sirudhamanallur, the king's agent and trustee of this temple, enquired into them in the 23rd year of the king. He ordered the distribution of certain offerings among the 21 temple-servants. In addition to the existing staff, two

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1. *Tirumadapparai Mahadevar temple*
2. *Selliyamman temple*

Karadi

Karadi in South Arcot district is three miles west of Tirukkoyilur. It has two early Chola temples set among a few boulders enclosed by a fort on the southern bank of the river Pennai.

1. *Tiru-madapparai Mahadevar temple*

This Siva temple in ruins has four inscriptions : one, of the 23rd year of a Parakesarivarman, which may be assigned to Parantaka I; two of Parakesari, 'conqueror of Madurai and Ilam (Ceylon)', i.e., Parantaka I (40th and 41st years : 220 and 221 of 1936–37); and one of Rajaraja I. They all refer to gifts for lamps and offerings to the Lord called Tiru-madapparai Mahadevar at *Ravikulachudamani Chaturvedimangalam* in Vanagoppadi on the southern bank of the Pennai river. *The name 'Ravikula Chudamani'* seems to be a title or surname of Parantaka I. The donors are Vira

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more were appointed for ringing the bells for the *sri-bali* ceremony. Four years later this arrangement was objected to by a member of the king's *perundaram* as being opposed to the *sastras*. In the 25th year of Rajaraja I, the same royal officer arranged that the drummers engaged in the temple should, in return for some paddy, take out the image of Chandrasekhara Perumal in procession thrice daily for the *sri-bali* ceremony; and, in the 26th year, he called together the Assembly and the residents of the village to enquire again into the temple affairs. On finding certain surplus paddy owing to the use of the standard measure *Vithi-vitankan marakkal* instead of the *Rajakesari kal*, he ordered the surplus to be utilised for the daily supply of akkaradisil (sweet-rice pudding) offerings to the Lord.

There is a very interesting inscription of the 2nd year of Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya (A.D. 1135) of the *Periyapuranam* fame, which mentions that there were *ten blind men* (*and two guides*) in charge of the singing of *Tirup-padiyam* (*Devaram* hymns) and the king made a gift of 12 veli of land to the *Devaram* troupe led by Rajaraja Pichchan, to augment the strength of the troupe. Anapaya was a zealous and fanatical Saivite, and he is said to have thrown the image of Govindaraja (Vishnu) at Chidambaram into the ocean, calling it (the ocean) His original Home !

The Muslim invasion and the resulting devastation of the country in the 14th century find mention in an inscription of Venruman Konda Sambhu-varaiyan.

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Narayaniyar described as the 'wife of Pillaiyar Gandaradittar, son of Queen Chola Madeviyar,' and the great Sembiyan Madeviyar, whose gift is one of a series of magnificent donations to temples during a long life of devotion and dedication to spiritual and noble causes.

2. *Selliyamman temple*

This temple is called that of Pidari Idaimalai Nangai; a gift of a lamp to this deity in the 20th year of Kannaradeva (Krishna III) is recorded on a boulder in the southern *prakara* of the temple.

Vyaghrapadesvarar temple

Siddhalingamadam

Siddhalingamadam is in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of South Arcot district, 5 miles (8.05 km.) to the southwest of Tirukkoyilur. The Vyaghrapadesvarar temple in this village seems to be a foundation of the days of Parantaka I.

There are three inscriptions of Madiraikonda Parakesari, of the 7th, 22nd and 25th years (respectively, 390, 376 and 387 of 1909). The one of the 7th year concerns a gift of gold for two lamps, and that of his 25th year records a gift of land for providing music on the three occasions of worship every day. Thus it is clear that the temple was in existence even in the early years of Parantaka I.

There are three inscriptions of Kannaradeva *alias* Krishna III, of the 5th, 18th and 24th years (respectively, 375,370 and 385 of 1909). These records as well as those of Parantaka I are perhaps copies of earlier original inscriptions, re-engraved after the renovation of the temple in the days of Kulottunga I. The date of the inscription of the 5th year of Kannaradeva (A.D. 945) is not reliable since this date falls before the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949) which is rendered impossible by the contents of the inscription.

Two inscriptions in Sanskrit verses (367 and 369

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of 1909) mention that the ruler of Manavil, called variously *Sabha-nartaka, Kalinga-raja* and *Manavatara* and described as a minister of Rajendra (II) who should also be identified with Naralokaviran, minister and general of Kulottunga I *alias* Rajendra, built a stone-temple here for Lord Siva consisting of a *vimana,* a *prakara* and a *mandapa* at the *agrahara* called Siddhalinga for the Lord worshipped by the sage Vyaghrapada.

The temple of the days of Parantaka I should thus have been renovated in the days of Kulottunga I.

Panchanadisvarar temple

Tiruvandarkoyil (Vadugur)

Tiruvandarkoyil is in the union territory of Pondicherry, 11 miles (17.70 km.) from Villupuram on the road to the town of Pondicherry. The present Panchanadisvarar temple here was known in the past as that of Tiruvarai Nakkan Koyil Paramasvamin at Tribhuvana Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the Tribhuvani river, now called the Pennai. In an inscription of Kulottunga I, the deity is called Tiruvaiyaru Udaiya Mahadevar (equivalent to Panchanadisvarar).

There are three inscriptions here of a Parakesarivarman who may be identified with Parantaka I; they mention gifts of a house-site and of a lamp to the temple (15th, 16th (unfinished), and 40th years : respectively 366, 369 and 376 of 1917).

An inscription of the 5th year of a Rajakesarivarman (359 of 1917) who is to be identified with Rajaraja I mentions a gift of land made in the 14th year of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman (Parantaka I). It adds that in former years the local *Sabha* had utilised some silver vessels and gold belonging to the temple for meeting the expenses of the *Sabha* (*Sabha-viniyogam*) and, in exchange therefor, the *Sabha* sold some lands in favour of the temple in the 28th year of Kannaradeva, the Rashtrakuta Krishna III (i.e., in A.D. 967–968).

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An inscription of the 12th year of Rajaraja I (362 of 1917) mentions that the Assembly of Tribhuvana Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam met in the *mandapa* built by Mummudi Chola Umbala-nattuvelan and remitted the taxes on a hamlet purchased and gifted to the temple.

The original name of this place is *Vadugur*. Sambandar (7th century) has sung a hymn on the Lord of this place, whom he calls 'Tiru Vadugur Nathar'. Though there is a fragmentary inscription of the 5th year of a Rajakesari, whose script seems sufficiently early to be attributed to Aditya I, the present structure seems to belong to the days of Parantaka I.

The main shrine stands on a basement 5 ft. (1.53 m.) high. It has plain mouldings. Below the pilasters, there are panels of miniature-sculptures as at Pullamangai.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. 6 in. (5.94 m.) side, with three central projections containing the niches of the *devakoshtas*. There are a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The *ardhamandapa* extends forward by 8 ft. 2 in. (2.49 m.). It stands on four pillars having 16 facets and cushion-capitals. There are two *dvarapalas* guarding the entrance to this *mandapa*. The *sikhara* is circular; it is a later structure made of stucco.

The original figures of the *devakoshtas* seem to be : Bhikshatanar and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma and Durga in the north. But other images are found inserted in improvised niches between the original ones : Ganesa (not fitting its niche) next to Bhikshatanar, Ardhanarisvarar next to Brahma, and Rishabharudha next to Durga. The temples at Karandai and Tirup-purambiyam display this feature of insertion of images in improvised niches in between the original niches; such insertions happened perhaps in the days of Uttama Chola (Pls. 84 to 87).

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Kilur (near Tiruk-koyilur)

Tirukkoyilur is in South Arcot district, on the southern bank of the Pennai and about 25 miles (40.23 km.) from Villupuram. This place is held sacred by both the Vaishnavites and the Saivites. It was formerly known as Tirukkovalur, the home of the Malayaman chiefs, famous from the days of the Tamil *Sangam,* who held sway in the region round it—then called *Maladu* of 2,000 villages. Their capital, also called Koval (short for Kovalur), is closely associated with the Early Vaishnavite Alvars—Poygai, Bhutam and Pey. The local Vishnu temple is on the western side of the town, and the presiding deity is called Trivikrama. Tirumangai Alvar calls Him 'Tiru Idaikkali Alvar at Kovalur'. Though this is an ancient temple, its *vimana* seems to have been converted from a brick into a stone structure by one Narasingavarman of Miladu (Maladu), a local chief of the days of *Rajakesari* Rajendra Chola II, (A.R. no. 123 of 1900, A.D. 1057–58).

In the eastern part of Tirukkoyilur lies the Siva temple with which we are here more concerned. The presiding deity is called Koval Virattanesvarar of Kilur. Appar and Sambandar (7th century A.D.) have sung hymns on the Lord of this place.

Siva, as a destroyer of evil-doers, is said to have fought eight of them in eight different places, and on each such occasion, He assumed a different form. The places traditionally associated with these heroic feats of Siva are called *Ashta Virattanam* (or *Virasthanam*). The Virattanesvaram at Kilur is regarded as the place where Siva overthrew Andhakasura[23].

[23] The other seven places associated with the heroic exploits of Siva and the corresponding exploits are as follows :

1. Tiruvadigai — Tripura-samharam.
2. Tiruk-Kandiyur — The cutting off of the fifth head of Brahma.
3. Tirup-Pariyalur — The cutting off of the head of Daksha Prajapati.
4. Tiru Virkkudi —The overthrow of Jalandharasura.

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The Siva temple of Kilur seems to have been in existence even during the time of the Later Pallavas, Nandivarman III and Nrpatunga. An inscription of the 17th year of Ko Vijaya Nandivikraman (Nandivarman III—A.D. 835–860) mentions that the temple of Tiru-virattanattup-Perumal was located in Tirukkovalur in Kurukkai Kurram, a part of Maladu; it registers a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to this temple by a mistress (*bhogiyar*) of Vanakovaraiyar, called Konnakkannar, daughter of Manikkattar. And the endowment was entrusted with the merchant-guild (*nagaram*) of the village (SII, VII no. 907; A.R. no. 278 of 1902). This *nagaram* of Tirukkovalur is mentioned in inscriptions of Nrpatunga as well (18th and 21st years : 297 and 303 of 1902).

The earliest Chola inscription here seems to be one of the 5th year of Parakesarivarman, which, on grounds of paleography, can be ascribed to Parakesari Vijayalaya. It refers to a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to Tiru Virattanattup-perumanadigal by Nangai Kulamanikkattar, the daughter of Iladadigal and the queen of Vanakovaraiyar. And the *nagarattar* of this place agreed to maintain the lamp, and the charity was placed under the protection of the Mahesvaras (A.R. 299 of 1902).[24]

An inscription of the 13th year of Parantaka I concerns an endowment of seven *kalanju* of *pon* (gold) for various temple-services during the *Chaitra* festival (A.R. no. 298 of 1902). A dual

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5. Valuvur — The overthrow of Gajasura.
6. Tiruk-kurukkai — The burning of Kama, the God of Love.
7. Tiruk-Kadavur (or Kadaiyur) —subjugation of the Lord of Death, Yama.

24 The text of the inscription (299 of 1902 : Epi. Indica, VII; No. 20): "Svasti sri Kop Parakesari Panmarkku yandu ainjavadu Tiru Virattanattup Perumanadigalukku Nanda-vilakkinukku Vanakovaraiyar devigal Iladadigal mahalar nangai Kulamanikkattar vaitta pon padinainkalanju; ip ponnukku kalanjivait tingaluri padiyal iravum pahalum nandavilakkerippom anom nagarattom : idu Pan Mahesvara rakshai." This inscription is on a nock in the *prakara* of the temple.

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inscription (28th year and 33rd year : the figure 23 in the text of the latter should be a mistake for 33) refers to two gifts for lamps to Tiru Virattanattup-Perumal, one by Rajadeviyar Desatakki Perumanar, daughter of Kayirur Perumanar of Miladu, and the other by Malaiyala Orraich-Chevakar, who belonged to the regiment of Pillaiyar Arikulakesariyar, one of the sons of Parantaka I (279 and 280 of 1902). There are a number of inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta ruler Kannaradeva (Krishna III) also.

King Rajaraja I seems to have endowed a lamp to this temple for the merit of Kundavai Amirta Valli Alvar, the mother of his queen Uloka Mahadeviyar (9th year, 239 of 1902).

Gifts continued to be made to this temple almost to the end of the Chola period.

Despite the existence of an inscription of Vijayalaya, the present structure of the temple of Tiru Virattanes-varar at Kilur can be assigned to the period of Parantaka I. Even this has undergone modifications due to later repairs.

The temple faces the west. The basement is 5 ft. (1.52 m.) high. It has a *yali* frieze and *padma* mouldings. The main temple measures 48 ft. (14.63 m.) from west to east and 21 ft. 8 in. (6.60 m.) from north to south. The *ardhamandapa* measures 21 ft. 6 in. (6.55 m.) from north to south and 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m.) from east to west. There are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

There are 48 panels of *miniature-sculptures* placed above the *yali* frieze and below the pilaster. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is adorned with *kudus* containing human and *yali* heads. Circles decorate the edges of the cornice.

Of the *devakoshta* figures, Brahma and Lingodbhavar seem to belong to the original temple. There is an old Durga sculpture placed loosely in the northern *prakara*. There are sub-shrines for Ganesa, Subrahmanyar,

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Chandra, Surya and the Saptamatrikas (Pls. 88 to 91).

Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple

Bahur

Bahur is a small village situated in the union territory of Pondicherry. It lies about 12 miles (19.31 km.) from the town of Pondicherry on the road to Cuddalore.

In the 8th century A.D., it was a great centre of Sanskrit studies; the *Vidyasthana* there had provision for *Chaturdasa Vidya*—fourteen branches of learning (i.e. the four *Vedas,* the six *Vedangas, Mimamsa, Nyaya, Dharma Sastra* and *Purana*). In the 8th year of the Pallava king Nrpatungavarman, a grant of three villages as endowment to this *Vidyasthana* was made by the minister of the king, Marttandan *alias* Nilaitangi; their revenues were to be enjoyed by the residents of this great seat of learning (vide the Bahur Plates).

Bahur is known in inscriptions as *Vahur* in *Vahur*-nadu included in the division of Vesalippadi. The name Vahur gets an alternate name, Sri Alagiya Chola Chaturvedimangalam, from the 25th year of Rajaraja I onwards. The presiding deity of this temple is called Sri Mulasthanam Udaiya Perumandigal or Parameśvarar. The earliest inscriptions on its walls are six of Kannara-deva (Krishna III, Rashtrakuta), ranging from his 22nd to his 27th years. One of his 26th year (172 of 1902 : SII, VII, 799) mentions a gift of four stone-slabs towards the construction of the *padai* (a tier or layer) of this temple by one Naminakkan Sankaran. From this it may be inferred that the temple built of stone was nearing completion about this time. Hence it should be considered a temple built in the latter part of the 10th century, the period of Parantaka I and Krishna III.

There are six inscriptions of Kannaradeva, three of his 22nd regnal year, one of his 26th year, and two of his 27th year (SII, VII, Nos. 802, 804, 799, 810 and 811).

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There is also an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Kop-Parakesari "who took the head of the Pandya" i.e. Aditya II. It records the gift of a perpetual lamp by Nambi Damodaran (SII, VII, No. 800).

The temple has undergone modifications in later times; but the walls of the sanctum and the *devakoshta* figures of Dancing Ganesa (south) and Brahma (north) can be considered parts of the original temple. The pilasters have a square shaft with *kalasam, kumbham* and *palagai,* and the brackets are angular in profile. Below the cornice, there is a *bhutagana* frieze. The cornice has *kudus* semi-circular in shape with a human head in the centre and a *simha* head at the top. Sacred bulls adorn the four corners of the floor of the *griva.*

There are a number of dancing figures on the walls of this temple.

The late Jouveau-Dubreuil considered this temple as one marking the transition from the Pallava to the Chola style of architecture.[25] It can be safely included among the Early Chola temples of the latter half of the 10th century.

1. *Nandi Kampesvaram*
2. *Gunamalai Perman temple*
3. *Kanakavalli Vishnugriham*
4. *Pidari Koyil*

Solapuram

Solapuram lies 8 miles (12.87 km.) south of Vellore in North Arcot district. There were four old Chola temples here : two of Siva, namely Nandi Kampesvarar and Gunamalai Peruman temples; one of Vishnu, Kanakavalli Vishnugriham and a Pidari Koyil. Now all of them are in ruins. The ancient name of Solapuram was Kattuttumbur.

Three stones were unearthed in a tope opposite one of the ruined Siva temples (the Nandi Kampesvaram).

[25] Vide Revue Historique de L'Inde Francis, Vol. VII, 1948 pp. 162–168 and plates I to XIX.

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There is an inscription on them dated in the 8th year of Kampavarman (A.D. 886 : 429 of 1902). It mentions that this Pallava ruler had a local feudatory called Prithivi Gangaraiyar and that when this chief died, his son, 'the great king Rajaditya', built a temple of Isvara (*Isvara Alayam*) and a 'house for the deceased' (*atita-griham*=tomb) on the spot where his father had been buried (*pallip padutta idattu*). This reference to a *pallippadai* (tomb-temple) built during the days of Vijaya Kampavarman is the earliest epigraphical reference to such temples in South India.

Another inscription, of the 23rd year of Vijaya Kampavarman, refers to the Vishnu temple (SII, I, No. 53 : Epi. Indica, VII). Here is an extract therefrom : "Kattut-tumbur Narayana Bhattarakar Srikoyil edippittu Kanakavalli Vishnugriham ennum nama-deyattal amaippittu idanukku tri-kalam aradippadarkkum tri-kalam tiru-amudukkum nanda-vilakkukkum aradippanukku jivitam-aha ik-kottattu in-nattu Kanakavalli eri bhumi...". As this inscription is found on the (north) wall of the local ruined Perumal temple, this temple should be the Kanakavalli Vishnugriham of Kampavarman's days.

There is another important inscription in this place (428 of 1902 : Epi. Indica VII, p. 195), the text of which is : "Svasti sri *yandu irandu,* saka varsham ennurru elupatti onru Chakravarti Kannaradeva Vallabhan Rajadittarai erindu Tondaimandalam puhundavandu". Hutlzsch has convincingly shown that the "second year" referred to in the inscription should be interpreted as Rajaditya's second regnal year, so that it corresponds to *saka* 871 equivalent to A.D. 949. This indisputably fixes the date of the defeat and death of Rajaditya at the battle of Takkolam and the invasion and conquest of Tondaimandalam by Kannara-deva.

There is yet another inscription, dated in *saka* year 875 (=A.D. 953) found on the wall of the ruined Siva

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temple (Nandi Kampesvaram). This mentions one Attimallan *alias* Kannaradeva Prithivi Gangaraiyan. He is perhaps a nominal vassal of Kannaradeva, because on the one hand he bears the name of the Rashtrakuta ruler but on the other he is powerful enough to ignore his overlord by issuing the inscription with merely the *saka* date without mentioning Kannaradeva's regnal year. Attimallan had a minister called Puttadigal *alias* Alivina Kalakanda Prithivi Gangaraiyan. This minister made a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the Nandi-Kampesvarar temple at Kattut-tumbur (modern Solapuram) and another set of 90 sheep for a lamp to the *Gunamalai temple*. He also made a further gift of one *kalanju* of gold for the supply of one *ulakku* of *tumbai* (hence the name of the place Kattu-tumbur) flowers daily to each of the temples of Nandi-Kampesvaram and Gunamalai Peruman. Nandi-Kampesvaram should have been the name of the ancient Siva temple on which this inscription is found. (Its name may mean that it was built by Kampa (varman), son of Nandi (varman III), or built in his honour. Again, at the request of his minister, Prithivi Gangaraiyan agreed to combine four villages into one called Amalangavalli Attimalla Chaturvedimangalam, and provision was made for offerings thrice a day to the Gunamalai temple. All these establish the existence here, in the days of Parantaka I, of two Siva temples: Nandi-Kampesvaram and Gunamalai Peruman temple.

There is a damaged inscription (426 of 1902) which mentions the Pidari Koyil (now called Kali Amman Koyil) erected by Nangaimani, daughter of Prithivi Gangaraiyar Devi Arigandagan.

There is also an inscription of Parantaka I (423 of 1902) whose date is lost.

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1. *Manikantesvaram (Siva) of Tirumalpuram*

2. *Ninrarulina Perumal (Vishnu) temple of Govindapadi*

Tirumalpuram (Tirumarp-peru)

According to local legends, Vishnu is said to have worshipped Siva for obtaining his chakra, with a thousand lotus flowers. When the last flower was missing, Vishnu pulled out one of his own eyes to complete the required number. Then Siva was pleased and the boon was granted. Hence the old name of this place *Tiru-mal-peru* or *Tirumarpperu*.

Tirumalpuram is 7 miles (11.23 km.) from Kanchi on the road to Arakonam in North Arcot district. A local inscription of Vikrama Chola (272 of 1906) mentions the existence of three temples here : of Aludaiyar, Tirumarp-Perudaiyar and Uttama Cholisvaram Udaiyar. An inscription of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Mummudi Chola (Rajaraja I) mentions a temple called Agnisvaram at Tirumalperu, the ancient name of Tirumalpuram. An inscription of Rajadhiraja mentions the (now-ruined) temple of Ninrarulina Perumal Uyyakkondalvar at Govindapadi, a suburb of Tirumalpuram. The identification of all these temples is unfortunately not possible. We shall here consider two of them : Manikantesvaram and Ninrarulina Perumal temples.

1. *Manikantesvaram*

The existence of this temple in the days of Parantaka I is attested by an inscription of his 37th year, which mentions a sale of land (298 of 1906). An inscription of the 3rd year of Parthivendradhipati-varman (267 of 1906) records the building of the temple and the surrounding verandah by the *Virata* king Anayaman *alias* Paramandaladitya. He is either a Chola feudatory or a member of the Chola royal family of the post-Parantaka I period. Another of his 13th regnal year (266 of 1906 : SII, III, no. 197) mentions the gift of 25

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kalanju of gold for two lamps by Vijaya Mahadeviyar, the daughter of Nandivarma Kadupattigal (queen of Parantaka I).

The most important inscription in this temple is one of the 14th year of a Konerinmaikondan, which does not mention the name of the ruler; but, on the strength of the names of a number of *signatories* found in this inscription who also figure in other inscriptions that could be definitely attributed to Uttama Chola, it has been concluded that it is one of Uttama Chola's (286 of 1906 : SII, III, no. 142). According to it, the village of Sirriyarrur, with the exception of the *kani* of Sangappadi Kilan, with its income of 3,000 *kadi* (as *puravu*) plus 561 *kadi* and 26½ *kalanju* of gold (as *iravu*) had been made *devadana iraiyili* (a gift of land to a temple after its being made tax-free), and the *sabha* of the neighbouring village of Puduppakkam had received the lands and agreed to make the prescribed payments to the temple of Mahadevar at Tirumalperu; this grant had been made in the 21st year of *Tondaiman Arrurttunjina udaiyar* (Aditya I), and in his 22nd year the ceremony of circum-ambulation by an elephant (*'pidagai-nadandu'*) had been performed as customary in the case of donation of lands or villages, and the trust-deed was thus completed. But it had later been found that the *sabha* of Puduppakkam had not honoured their obligations and had made no payments to the temple. So, in the 4th year of Parantaka I, the endowment had been re-registered and entered into the accounts. Here is the relevant part of the inscription : "Tirumalperru Mahadevarkku Manavil Kottattu Manavil Nattuch-*Chirriyarrur* Sangappadi Kilan kani nikki puravu muvayirak kadiyum iravu 561 kadiyum pon 26½ kalanjaraiye manjadiyum devadana iraiyiliyai ip puravum iravum ponnum devarkku iruppadaha ik kottattu Purisainattup Piramadeyam *Puduppakkattu* Sabhaiyarkkut devadana brahma-desamahat *Tondai-*

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man-arrurt tunjina Udaiyarkku 21-avadu kuduttu, 22-avadu pidagai nadandu, *sasanam seydu kuduttu* variyilidadey kidanda ivvurai *Madiraiyum Ilamum konda Kop Parakesari-panmarkku yandu nalavadu* devadanam brahmadeyam aha variyilitta. . . ."

Again, in the 36th year of Parantaka I, a fresh grant, namely the remaining *kani* of Sangappadi Kilan, which had been excluded from the previous grant, yielding an annual *puravu* of 3,000 *kadi* was also made over to this temple as *devadana iraiyili,* and the same *sabha* of Puduppakkam was also placed in charge of the additional endowment. The minister of Uttama Chola, called Chola Muvenda-velan, received complaints from the *devakanmis* (priests), *unnaligai-udaiyar* (those in charge of the store-room of the temple and of the supply of daily requirements for the temple : now called *padik-kattalai*) and the *mahesvaras* (temple-trustees) of Tirumalperu that the *sabha* of Puduppakkam had defaulted their obligations and had fraudulently misappropriated the temple funds; this complaint was duly reported to the king, Uttama Chola, in the 14th year and 216th day of his reign, while he was residing in his palace, the 'Golden Hall of Kachchippedu', i.e., Kanchi ('*Kachchippettup pon-maligai*'). The king thereupon summoned the *devakanmis,* the *unnaligai-udaiyar* and the *mahesvaras* of Tirumalperu, and the members of the *sabha* of Puduppakkam; after a thorough enquiry, he found the *sabha* guilty of misappropriation. The sabha was fined, and its members were further directed to fulfil their obligations according to their old commitments. Accordingly, increased scales of expenditure were ordered for the total income of 6,561 *kadi* of paddy and 26½ *kalanju* of gold. As in the case of copper-plate grants (for instance, the 'Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola'), the document was signed by a number of royal officers—the royal Secretary, *anatti, vaikkelvi, olainayakan, puravu-vari,*

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mukhavetti etc.

That the region round about Tirumalpuram was already in the possession of Aditya I even by his 21st year and that Aditya I died at Tondaiman Arrur (modern Tondaimanad) are established by this very interesting document, apart from the light that it throws on local administration under the Cholas.

There was a royal officer, Madurantaka Gandaradittan Tiruvadigal, perhaps a son of Uttama Chola, who figures in the days of Uttama Chola and in the early years of Rajaraja I (upto his 12th year). He made inquiries into the administration of temples here and elsewhere, as well as donated costly gifts to them. He seems to have wielded great influence and enjoyed the confidence of Rajaraja I himself. In the 14th year of Uttama Chola, he makes an endowment for a ceremonial bath of the principal deity of this temple with 108 pots of water on one day every month (280, 285 and 292-A of 1906).

Both he and Solamadeviyar *alias* Panchavan Madeviyar, queen of 'Mummudi Chola' (Rajaraja I) made grants of land for two lamps to this temple in the 3rd year of Rajaraja I (294 of 1906). Another inscription of the 4th year of Rajaraja I found in this temple refers to an inquiry conducted by the same royal officer into the affairs of another local temple of Agnisvarar, now no longer in existence. An inscription of the 12th year of this king mentions an inquiry and the imposition of a fine on the men in charge of the storeroom of the temple.

An image of Uma Bhattarar *alias* Adi Sundra Deviyar was installed in the 11th year of Rajaraja I. An image of Uttama Cholisvaram Udaiyar is said to have been set up in the 34th year of Tribhuvana Vira devar i.e., Kulottunga III.

The villages of Sirriyarrur and Puduppakkam mentioned here are the modern villages of Sittattur and

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Puduppakkam in the Walajapet taluk of North Arcot district.

2. *Ninrarulina Perumal temple at Govindapadi*

The ruined Vishnu temple in this village is called 'Ninrarulina Perumanadigal temple at Govindapadi', the latter village being a suburb of Tirumalpuram. The temple contained inscriptions of Parantaka I from his 12th to his 41st year, Among them is one concerning a gift of a lamp by prince Parantaka Uttama-sili a son of Parantaka I (301 of 1906). Another records the gift of a lamp by the Chola queen, Amani-madeviyar from Pandinadu to Ninrarulina Perumanadigal at Govindapadi in Vallanadu, a sub-division of Damar Kottam in Tondai-nadu (314 of 1906). In the 31st year of Parantaka I, the Chola queen Amudam Perral *alias* Pallavan Madeviyar of Kunnattur in Umbala-nadu made a gift of a lamp to this deity. A Parakesari inscription whose date is lost mentions a gift to this Lord made by the Chola queen Panchavan Madevi (338 of 1906).

There are four inscriptions of 'Parthivendravarman who took the head of Vira Pandya' (3rd to 13th years). One concerns a gift of gold by Vaidumbaraditta Brahmadhirajan. Another records the building of a *mandapa*. The king's *mahout* buys land in Sirriyarrur from the temple and assigns it for feeding a brahman in the *matha* attached to the temple.

There are two inscription of the 17th year of Madiraikonda Rajakesari, perhaps to be assigned to Sundara Chola. They concern gifts for lamps (307 and 308 of 1906).

An inscription of the 14th year of Parakesarivarman, perhaps Uttama Chola (321 of 1906), mentions that an idol of Manavalap-Perumal was set up and a gift was made for offerings to Him. In the days of Rajaraja I (11th year), an idol of *Hanuman* was installed (335

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of 1906). provision was made for the recitation of the Vaishnavite sacred hymns, *Tiruvoymoli and Nammalvar Prabandham* in the temple (326 of 1906).

The deity is called 'Uyyakkondalvar at Govindapadi' in an inscription of Rajadhiraja I. The temple has now gone out of existence.[26]

Both the Siva and the Vishnu temples belonged to the days of Parantaka I.

Adipurisvarar temple

Tiruvorriyur

The existence of a temple dedicated to Mahadeva Bhattarar at Tiruvorriyur even in the days of the later Pallavas is attested by two inscriptions on stones built into the pavement of the Adipurisvarar temple. One is of the 18th year and 29th day of Nandivarman III (162 of 1937–38). It concerns a gift of gold received from the king for two lamps. The second is of the 5th year of Aparajita (165 of 1937-38). It also concerns a gift of gold for a lamp. The Pallava temple was perhaps a brick structure.

The region round about Tiruvorriyur in Tondainadu should have been annexed to the Chola empire only in the days of Parantaka I, and his inscriptions found here range from his 20th to his 35th year. It is likely that it formed the effective northern limit of the Chola empire under him. Though there is a reference in an inscription of the 34th year of Parantaka I (160 of 1912) to the conquest of Sitpuli-nadu (sippuli-nadu), Madanappalli region, and the destruction of Nellore by Maran Paramesvaran *alias* Sembiyan Soliyavaraiyan of Sirukalattur (as well as to a gift of a lamp to this Lord on his return from the campaign), it had not resulted in the permanent annexation of this territory to the

[26] In the name of renovation, the character and beauty of these ancient venerable monuments have been irretrievably destroyed. It was a tragic sight to see the destruction of the invaluable inscriptions on the Siva temple, as a result of thoughtless renovation and the total disappearance of the equally historic Vishnu temple at Govindapadi.

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Chola empire. An inscription at Little Kanchi (of the 6th year of Rajaraja I) states that one Kurukkadi Kilan Paraman Malapadi *alias* Mummudi Cholan captured (among his booty) 900 sheep in the course of the war for the conquest of Sippuli-nadu and Pakkai-nadu, and that they were, with the permission and under the orders (*tiru-mukham*) of the king, given over for the maintenance of ten perpetual lamps to be called *Raja-rajan* (after the king) and to be burnt in the shrine of *Ainjandi Durga Bhatari* at Kachchippedu (Kanchi). This is a clear reference to the reconquest of this territory under Rajaraja I (79 of 1921 : SII., XIII, no. 149).

In the 29th year of Parantaka I, one Iravi Villi, daughter of the Chera king Vijayaraghava-deva, made a gift of gold for a lamp to the Mahadevar of Tiruvorriyur. This is one more instance of the friendly contacts between the Cholas and the Cheras in the days of Parantaka I.

In the 30th year of Parantaka I, Sri Kodandaramanar, the eldest son of the king, made a gift of 60 *kalanju* of gold for two lamps.

Another son of the king, 'Pillaiyar Arindagai Perumanar' (Arinjaya), made a gift of 30 *nikshas* (gold coins) to the 'Purari of Adigrama (the old name of Tiruvorriyur).

The annexation of the northern part of the Chola empire by the Rashtrakuta Krishna III (in the later years of the reign of Parantaka I) is attested by three inscriptions of his (177, 179 and 181 of 1912). One of them mentions a gift of 100 *nikshas* of gold for the *Sri-bali* ceremony by Chaturana Pandita (of the Lakulisa sect) and another concerns a gift for a lamp by the mother of Kannara-deva.

According to an inscription of the 5th year of Madiraikonda Rajakesari, Sundara Chola, one of the nobles of Udaiyar Uttama Chola made a gift for a lamp to this deity. There are two inscriptions of the period

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of Uttama Chola, of his 15th and 16th years (166 and 245 of 1912). According to one of them, Uttama Chola is said to have presented (out of the taxes due to him) to the temple of Mahadevar at Tiruvorriyur, an idol of *Sri-bali-devar* in gold, also eight trumpets and 24 fly-whisks (chauris). The other mentions a gift (made by the officer of the king who was looking after the administration of the temple) of a gold salver weighing 885 *kalanju* of gold for offering food to the Lord.

All these early records are found, *not* on the walls of the central shrine but on pillars of the *mandapas* built round the central shrine or on stone-slabs imbedded in the pavement; the earlier temple was reconstructed in the reign of Rajendra Chola I. He is said to have erected, with fine black stone, the *Sri-vimana* to Devesa at Adipuri (Tiruvorriyur) as a three-tiered vimana at the instance of Chaturana Pandita.

1. *Kodandarama Perumal temple* (*Vishnu*)
2. *Svetaranyesvarar temple* (*Siva*) (*Tiruvenkattup-Paramesvarar*)
3. *Arunachalesvarar temple* (*Siva*)

Madurantakam

Madurantakam, in the Chingleput district, is a railway station on the Madras-Villuppuram line of the Southern Railway. As in the case of Kattu-mannargudi *alias* Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam, this town also is described as a *taniyur* (equivalent to a modern municipality) and a *chaturvedimangalam*, brahman settlement). It should have been one of the many *chaturvedimangalams* which, according to the Kanyakumari inscription of Vira Rajendra, were created by Parantaka I. The great irrigation tank nearby should also have been his creation, similar to the Viranam tank near Kattu-mannargudi. An inscription of Kulottunga I (138 of 1895) makes mention of *Virasolan Per-eri*. Virasolan is a surname of Parantaka I, and hence the reference should only be to this huge tank

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evidently named after him. Some streets and channels in this town are named after this and other surnames of his : Vira Narayana and Virasola Vaikkal are found mentioned in an inscription (128 of 1896). The quarters occupied by the merchants bore the name of Virasolan Perangadi (vide 395 of 1922).

1. *Kodandarama Perumal temple* (*Vishnu*)

There are three temples in this place. The present Vishnu temple of Kodandarama is called that of Tiru-Ayodhya Perumal in inscriptions. It lies close to the bund of the local tank. In this temple, there is an inscription of the 7th year of a certain Parantaka. The Government Epigraphist opines that the characters of the inscription appear to be of a later date than that of Parantaka I. It describes Madurantaka Chatur-vedimangalam as a *taniyur* situated in Kalattur Kottam, a sub-division of Jayangonda Chola Mandalam. Jayangondar is a surname of Rajaraja I, so this inscription should belong to an age later than that of Rajaraja I. A son of Kulottunga I, called Parantaka, seems to have ruled over Vengi and the northern parts of the Chola empire during the last years of Kulottunga I. Perhaps he was recognized as heir-apparent with effect from A.D. 1111-12. Evidently, the local Parantaka inscription should be ascribed to him (early 12th century; E. I. Vol. XXXII, no 22). It mentions a grant of land as *Tiruvidaiyattam* to Tiru Ayodhya Perumal by the *Perunguri Sabha* of Sri Madurantaka Chatur-vedimangalam as per royal order.

2. *Svetaranyesvarar temple* (*Siva*)
(Tiru-Venkattup-Paramesvarar)

The deity of the Siva temple, at Kadapperi near the Madurantakam railway station, is called Svetaranyes-varar, and in inscriptions by the Tamil equivalent, Tiru-Venkattup-Paramesvarar. The earliest inscription

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in this temple is that of the 12th year and 130th day of Madiraikonda Rajakesari, Sundara Chola (396 of 1922). It concerns a gift of land for the benefit of the king's long life and victory. There are also two inscriptions of Rajaraja I (395 and 397 of 1922). The first makes provision for the celebration of a festival in honour of this deity, and the second refers to an assignment of land by the *mahasabha* of *Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam* for opening a new street round the temple called TiruVenkattup-Perunteruvu, to settle *Siva-Brahmanas, Uvachars* (pipers), *Tapasvins* and *Devaradiyars*.

3. *Arulalesvarar temple*

There is another Siva temple, lying close to the eastern bund of the great tank, now called that of Arulalesvarar and referred to in inscriptions of Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II as both Arulalesvaram and Akalanka Isvaram. Arulala is a surname of Naralokavira, a general and minister as well as a great temple-builder of the days of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola. Akalankan is a surname of Vikrama Chola. This Siva temple might have been a foundation of Naralokavira in the days of Vikrama Chola.

The Kodandarama temple (later renovated) and the Svetaranyesvarar temple should be Early Chola temples.

Kodandaramesvaram (*Adityesvaram*)

Tondaimanad

Tondaimanad is about 6 miles (9.66 km.) from Kalahasti in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. It was formerly called Tondaiman Arrur (or Perarrur) in Arrur-nadu, a division of Tiruvengadakkottam in Tondainadu. Here is a temple called Kodandaramesvaram or Adityesvaram. This is said to be a *pallippadai*, a memorial sepulchral (or tomb) temple, erected in honour of Kodandarama *alias* Aditya I. At Tirumalpuram, there is an inscription[27] of the 14th year and

[27] For further details see the section on Timalpuram.

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211th day of a 'Konerinmai-kondan' (230 of 1903 : SII, III, no 142), which should be ascribed to Uttama Chola and which mentions an earlier gift of the 21st year of 'Tondaiman Arrurttunjiya udaiyar' (=He who died at Tondaiman Arrur'), i.e., Aditya I. The Kanyakumari inscription of Vira Rajendra says *inter alia* : "The son of Vijayalaya was Aditya Varman, better known by the name of Kodandarama." Thus it is clear that Aditya I had such a surname; the temple is thus named after both the names.

There is an inscription of the 34th year of Parantaka I (=A.D. 941) on the north base of the central shrine of this temple whose opening lines are : "Madiraikonda kop Parakesari Parmarkku yandu 34-avadu Tiruvengadak kottattu Arrur-nattut *Tondaiman Per-arrur* sabhaiyomum nagarattomum Pallippadai Vagisvara Pandita Bhattarar *Sri Kodandaramesvaram ahiya Adityesvarattu Alvarkku* Purattasit tingal tiruk Kettai mudal edir elu nalum tiru-nakshtram ahiya tiruch Chadayattanrum tiru-uchchavam seyvatarkkum bhojanattukkum Pallippadai Vagisvara Pandita Bhattarar Tondaiman Perarrur sabhaiyomum nagarattomum vali sandiradittavar id dharmam seyvataha engal vali vaitta pon suttu vettich chuduk koduttu tip-pokki urkarchemmai mudal nurrain (g) kalanjum Vagisvara Panditan enum pundumbinal nirattalavu tu-nel nalayirak kadiyum....". This tells us that the name of the temple is "Pallippadai Vagisvara Pandita Bhattarar Sri Kodandaramesvaram *alias* Adityesvara Alvar temple", and records an endowment of 105 *kalanju* of gold together with a net annual income of 4,000 *kadi* of paddy. Details of the expenditure against this income are also recorded later on in the inscription. These include provision for the supply of offerings, vegetables, curds, *ghee,* salt and other requirements for the celebration of a seven-day festival lasting from the asterism of *kettai* to that of *Sadayam* (the latter being the natal star of the king) in the month of

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Purattasi (September-October), for a feeding-house and for feeding, on the seven days of the festival, a thousand persons, *tapasvins* of all sects including Mahavratins, brahmans and devotees of various classes. It is of special interest that this inscription mentions among other items the time-honoured celebration of the Indra festival so graphically described in the Tamil epics Silappadikaram and Manimekhalai and whose stoppage is said to have brought about a great calamity to the then Chola capital Kaverippattinam and its inhabitants. The *sabha* and the *nagaram* of Tondaiman Perarrur agreed to maintain this charity in favour of the Pallippadai Vagisvara Pandita Bhattarar temple, as requested by the *Mahavratins* of Adityesvaram, the *Ganap-Perumakkal* of the Tiru Panrisvarattu Prithivi Vitankar temple of the neighbouring town of Kaverippakkam and the *Pan-mahesvaras* (SII, VII, no. 529).

Thus we conclude that this is a temple named after Aditya I, being in fact a *pallippadai,* a memorial tomb-temple,[28] built over the mortal remains of this king who died in this place : hence it was that he came to be called after his demise '*Tondaiman Arrurttunjina Udaiyar*' as described in the Tirumalpuram inscription. It was built by Parantaka I sometime before his 34th year as a tangible expression of the filial piety of a dutiful son. A liberal endowment was made for services to the deity and for the celebration of a festival in honour of his birthday to be conducted for seven days ending with the day of his natal star *Sadayam* in the month of Purattasi (Pl. 92).

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28 This temple of Parantaka I is an historical monument built by an illustrious Chola ruler in memory of his equally great father who (perhaps) died in this place. The Department of Archaeology should take immediate steps to rehabilitate it on scientific lines and to declare it a protected monument. The Hindu Religious Endowments Board of Andhra Pradesh should also take necessary steps for its proper maintenance.

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Virrirunda Perumal temple

There are three other inscriptions from this place, in the local Vishnu temple called that of Virrirunda Perumal. According to them this Vishnu temple was known in the past as *Tiru-merk-koyil,* and even as late as in the 13th century, this place was still called *Tondaiman Arrur*. Thus we have confirmation that Tondaiman Arrur is the same as the modern Tondamanad.

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3 Sundara Chola alias Parantaka II Madurantaka

Introduction

The Larger Leyden grant says of Sundara Chola :

"From Arinjaya was born Parantaka (II) who was equal in prowess to the destroyer of the three cities, i.e. *Siva,* who was the crusher of the circle of many kings and who (causing his) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean.

At the city named Chevura, he (Parantaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, i.e. the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (his) sharp sword".

The *Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates* (Nos. 57 and 58-A - copper plates - RIE 1949–50) confirm the battle of *Sevur* (or Chevura) and add that it was fought against *Vira Pandya,* who was forced to flee and climb the peaks of the Sahyadri Mountains (the Western Ghats) for refuge. Sundara Chola claims the title of Maduraikonda Rajakesari or Madhurantaka in his own right. In this war against the Pandyas, Sundara Chola was helped by Bhuti Vikrama Kesari and Parantaka Siriya velar of Kodumbalur. We know that both of them distinguished themselves in the Pandyan wars, but we wonder if they belonged to the same family and if so in what relation they stood to each other.

Sundara Chola seems to have quite surpassed Cupid in beauty and therefore received the name of Sundara.

The Tiruvalangadu Plates add that his subjects believed him to be an *avatar of Manu,* and that he came again to the earth to re-establish the laws of Manu

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which had become lax under the influence of the Kali age.

He is said to have died in the *Golden Palace* (*Pon Maligai*) at Kanchi. Hence, he is described in later times as *"Pon Maligai Tunjina devar"*.

His chief queen was *Vanavan Mahadevi* who is described as a very Arundhati, the very embodiment of chastity; and she is said to have followed her lord as night the day to Heaven afraid, as it were, of the allurements of her husband by the celestial nymphs and consequently desirous of being near him even there. This seems to be an euphemistic way of saying that she committed sati (self–immolation).

In the days of Rajaraja I, her devoted daughter Kundavaiyar set up a metal image of her mother in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur.

The Anbil plates of Sundara Chola (4th year) are the earliest so far known of the Chola copper plate grants. They record the gift, as an *ekabhoga-brahmadeya* of ten *veli* of land by the king to Aniruddha Brahmadhirajan.

Another fragmentary copper plate grant of the reign of Sundara Chola is published by T.N. Subrahmanyan in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India (1958–59, pp. 84–101). Only six out of 23 (and more) plates are forthcoming. This grant registers a gift of land (30 *veli* and odd) as *pallichchandam* in favour of the Sundara Solap-Perumpalli a Jaina temple named after the king by a merchant Selethi Kudiyan for the use of the male and female ascetics of the institution.

TEMPLES OF SUNDARA CHOLA'S TIME

Inscriptional References

1. *Kodumbalur*—Tiruchy district, *Muvarkoyil* :
   i. Madras Epi. Report—nos 129–141 of 1907.
   ii. Inscriptions (text) of the Pudukkottai State.
   iii. A Manual of the Pudukkottai State Vol. II,

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Part II (pp. 1033 to 1035 and 1039), by K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar.

iv. Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. XIV–XVI, 1958–60 and Vol. XVII to XX—Kodumbalur, Muvarkoyil by the Author.

v. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 1–20.

vi. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, London, nos. January, 1934 and July, 1935.

vii. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXII, no. 10, Kilur Inscription of Nandivarman, yr. 16.

2. *Kamarasavalli*—Tiruchy district, *Karkotakesvarar* temple : Madras Epi. Report, nos. 61–95 of 1914.

3. *Tindivanam*—South Arcot district, *Tintrinisvarar* temple :
Madras Epi. Report, nos. 141–146 of 1900.
,, ,, ,, 204–218 of 1902.
,, ,, ,, 30–35 of 1905.

4. *Velachcheri*—Chingleput district :
(i) Saptamatrika (Selliyamman) temple.
(ii) Dandisvarar temple.
Madras Epi. Report nos. 302–317 of 1911.

5. *Minjur*—Chingleput district, *Varadaraja Perumal temple*.
Madras Epi. Report nos. 133–134 of 1916.

General Reference

1. The Larger Leyden grant (Ep. Ind.).
2. The Karandai Tamil Sangam Copper Plate grant. (A.R.I.E. 1949–50, nos. 57 & 58 A).
3. The Tiruvalangadu Copper Plate grant. (SII, III, Pl. III, no. 205, pp. 383–489).
4. The Anbil Plates.
5. Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1958–59 by T.N. Subrahmanyan, (refers to *Sundara Solap-perumpalli*).

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4 Temples of Sundara Chola's Time

Muvarkoyil

Kodumbalur

Kodumbalur, now in the Tiruchy district lies 220 miles (350 kms.) from Madras on the Trunk Road to Nagarkoyil, and about 23 miles (37 kms.) south-west of Tiruchy town. It is a city of ancient renown, lying on the high road connecting Uraiyur, the ancient Chola capital with Madurai, the Pandya capital. It was the home of a family of local chiefs called the Irukkuvels. It was once a city of temples like Kanchi and Kumbakonam. Tradition mentions the existence here at one time of 108 temples; but now only two important temples have survived - the Muchukundesvaram and the Muvarkoyil.

The Muvarkoyil as the name implies is a temple with triple shrines. Of the three shrines, the northern shrine has gone completely out of existence except the plinth. The central and the southern shrines were in a state of collapse; but they were carefully and scientifically renovated and restored without violence to their own original features by the then curator of the Pudukkottai Museum the late K. Venkataranga Raju.

There is a Kannada inscription engraved on three stones built into the bund of the holy tank in front of the Muchukundesvaram temple and in this inscription, there is a reference to a temple by name Vikrama Kesarisvaram (p. 1039, A Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Vol.II,pt. II). It is surely a reference to the Muvarkoyil, at least to the central shrine which perhaps, was named after the founder, Bhuti Vikramakesari.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a Sanskrit inscription in *Grantha* script relating to the

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building of this temple (129 of 1907 and Pud. List no. 14.). It contains a genealogy covering nine generations of Irukkuvel chiefs ruling over this area together with a record of their achievements. It further says that Vikrama Kesari, the *Kalpataru* (the wish-giving tree) to the learned and the beloved of the Goddesses of the Earth, Victory, Prosperity, Fame and Speech, raised *three vimanas* in his name and in the name of his two queens (viz., Karrali and Varaguna) and enshrined Mahesvara in them : this Yadava chief also gave *Mallikarjuna* (the ascetic chief of the *kalamukha* sect, born of the Atreya *gotra,* a resident of *Madurai*, the master of the Veda and the pupil of *Vidhya Sri*), a big *Matha* with a gift of eleven villages for the maintenance of fifty ascetics and for various offerings to the deities of this temple.

Venkayya held that the script of this inscription should be ascribed to the 10th century A.D. Further because of the mention of Vira Pandya as Vikramakesari's adversary, he suggested that the Pandyan ruler should be the same person who fought in his youth against Aditya II Karikala, the son of Sundara Chola; and he concluded that Vikramakesari should be assigned to the period of these Chola kings, Sundara Chola and Aditya II.

The following are the main considerations for assigning Bhuti Vikrama Kesari to the middle of the tenth century A.D. :—

1 The *paleography* of the Muvarkoyil inscription favours it. It cannot be assigned to the 7th or 8th or even the 9th century A.D. but only to the 10th. It is a foundation inscription.

2 The enemy of Vikramakesari was *Vira Pandya* who bore the title of "who took the head of the Chola". There was no Pandya ruler bearing the name of Vira Pandya either during, or before the latter period of Parantaka I.

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3 Another great Chola general of the period—also connected with Kodumbalur—*Senapati Parantaka Irungolan* alias *Siriya Velan* called "the foremost member in the family of the daughter of king Parantaka and the light of the Irungola race" won a great victory over the Pandyas but later lost his life in Ceylon in the 9th year (3 yr. ?) of Sundara Chola when the war with the Pandyas was pursued against their allies (the Ceylonese) into Ceylon.

4 Next to Parantaka I, it is Sundara Chola who claims the titles of *Parantaka and Madurantaka.*

5 Aditya II and Parthivendravarman claim victory over *Vira Pandya* and these belong to the period subsequent to Parantaka I and before Rajaraja I.

6 The Leyden Grant mentions that the Cholas under Parantaka (II) gained a great victory in the battle fought at *Chevur* and that his son Aditya (II), "while yet a boy played sportingly in battle with *Vira Pandya,* just as a lion's cub does with a rutting mad elephant proud of its strength". That this battle of Sevur (Chevura) was fought against Vira Pandya is also confirmed by the Karandai Tamil Sangam Copper-plates.

7 Bhuti Vikrama Kesari named his sons *Parantaka* and *Adityavarman,* perhaps after the names of his Chola overlords, Sundara-Parantaka II and Aditya II.

Hence, Vikrama Kesari could be safely assigned to the days of Sundara Chola and Aditya II, i.e. the latter half of the 10th century.

The publication of the Kilur inscription of the 16th year of Nandivarman III in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XXXII, no. 10) necessitates the re-examination of the question of the date of Bhuti Vikramakesari.

The Kilur record is dated the 16th year of Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramapanmar and this inscription is engraved on a rock in the *prakara* of the Virattanesvarar temple at Kilur, a suburb of the modern town of Tirukkoyilur in the South Arcot district. This inscription records

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a gift of 24 *kalanju* of gold for burning a perpetual lamp before the Mahadevar of Tiruvirattanam by one Tennavan Ilan (govel) *alias* Maravan Pudi. Assuming that the accession of Nandivarman III could be placed about A.D. 835, the date of the record would be A.D. 851. Let us gather all the information about this chief which could be gleaned from inscriptions.

(*a*) At Tirupparaitturai in the Tiruchy district, there is an inscription of the 27th year of a Ko-Rajakesarivarman[1] on the walls of the Darukavanesvarar temple (see pp. 123 to 125, ECA Pt. I). One of the two donors of this inscription is Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudiyar, who makes a gift of land for offerings to a number of deities of the subshrines of this temple, Ganapati, Subrahmanya, Saptamatrikas, Jyeshtha, Durga and Surya. This inscription should be assigned to Aditya I (A.D. 898).

(*b*) Another inscription of a Rajakesarivarman from this place (Tirupparaitturai) whose regnal year is lost mentions Nangai Karrali Pirattiyar who is referred to as the *Deviyar* of Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudiyar.[2]

An attempt is made to equate this lady, Nangai Karrali Pirattiyar of the 9th century (A.D. 898) with Karrali, one of the two queens of Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur who belongs to the latter half of the 10th century. The name Karrali is the only common factor between the names in the two inscriptions. In my opinion this is a wrong identification as there is nothing in common between Karrali, the queen of Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudi and Karrali, the queen of Vikramakesari[3]. The two Karralis are different

[1]Tirupparaitturai, 258 of 1903, SII, VII, 560.

[2]A.R.273 of 1903, SII, VIII, 581.

[3]J.O.R. VII pt I. pp. 1–16, Kodumbalur inscription, No. 14 – (Text) of the Pudukkottai State and A.R.No, 129 of 1907. K.A.N. Sastri, 'The Colas' (2nd edition), University of Madras, 1955, p. 155, "A Rajakesari inscription, from which the date has been lost, mentions that .Karrali Piratti was the wife of Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudiyar, which may be other names of Vikramakesari". This identification cannot be sustained.

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persons. There is no sufficient common ground or proper evidence for establishing their identity.

(*c*) At Kodumbalur, in addition to the Muvarkoyil built by Vikramakesari, there is another early Chola temple now called the Muchukundesvarar temple, but its original name, according to the inscriptions on this temple, was Tirumudukunram Udaiyar temple. We know that this temple was built by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel in the last days of Parantaka I. Further, a newly discovered inscription on the central portion of the basement of the sanctum mentions that this chief appointed the priests of the Tiruppudisvaram temple to conduct worship in the new temple of Mudukunram Udaiyar.[4] This is clear evidence that the temple of Tiruppudisvaram was a temple earlier than, and different from, the Muchukundesvarar temple.

(*d*) The temple of Tiruppudisvaram is referrred to in two other inscriptions of Kodumbalur. These are found not on the walls of the central shrine, but on pillars of a later *mandapa* in front of this temple of Muchukundesvarar possibly built with the materials collected from the wreckage of another temple which had existed here in the past. One of these pillar inscriptions mentions Rishabha Perumanadigal of Tiruppudisvaram.[5] It is an inscription of the 5th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. It may be Rajakesarivarman. The only important information this inscription conveys is that the name of the deity of the temple of Tiruppudisvaram is Rishabhadevar. There is another inscription on another pillar in the same *mandapa* belonging to the 21st year of a Rajakesarivarman who is to be identified with Aditya I.[6] It mentions a gift of a lamp to the Mahadevar of Tiruppudisvaram.

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[4]Manual of the Pudukkottai State, Vol. II, Part II, p. 1035.

[5]A.R. 138 of 1907.

[6]no. 33—Inscriptions (Text) of the Puddukkottai State.

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An inscription[7] of the 17th year of Vira Pandya (A.D. 1270) mentions the sale of land to Tirumudukunram Udaiyar. While describing the boundaries of the land so gifted, there is mention of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruppudisvaram. Therefore, it is clear that the temple of Tiruppudisvaram is different from the temple of Tirumudukunram (*alias* Muchukundesvaram). Tiruppudisvaram is neither the Muvar Koyil nor the Muchukundesvarar temple.[8]

Two other inscriptions refer to the temple of Tiruppudisvaram. An inscription from Darukavanesvarar temple at Tirupparaitturai of the 8th year of a Parakerarivarman[9] who may be Parantaka I mentions Tiruppudisvarattup-Perumanadigal.

Another of the 16th year of Parakesari from Tiruchchendurai[10] refers to the son of Tiruppudisvarattu Devanar (one named after the deity of this temple) of Kodumbalur.

We have to consider another inscription of the second year of Parakesari (Parantaka I) from Tiruchchendurai. It mentions a gift by Nakkan Vikrama Kesariyar, the *deviyar* (queen) of Tennavan Ilangovel *alias* Marvan Pudiyar.[11]

At this stage, we shall introduce an inscription from Tiruchchendurai of the third year of Parakesari who should be identified with Parantaka I. It mentions one Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar, who is described as the daughter of Tennavan Ilangovelar and the queen of Arikulakesari.[12]

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[7]Ins. no. 379—Inscriptions (text) of the Pudukkottai State.

[8]Contra—Tiruppudisvaram might have been the ancient name of Muvarkovil built by Pudi Vikramakesari (A.R.E. 1908 paras 90 and 91).K.R. Srinivasan —"Tiruppudisvaram may be the Muchukundesvara temple"—Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, translated into English, p. 30.

[9]A.R. no. 253 of 1903, SII, VIII, 555.

[10]A.R. no. 293 of 1903, SII, VIII, 602.

[11]A.R. no. 306 of 1903, SII, VIII, 615,

[12]A.R. no. 316 of 1903, SII, VIII, 208.

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Kodumbalur Chief

(1) Karrali =Tennavan Ilangovelar=(2) Nakkan Vikramakesari.
alias Maravan Pudi
(two wives)

Chola King
Parantaka I

(son) (daughter)
Arikulakesari=Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar
(builder of the
Tiruchchendurai temple)

The following conclusions are warranted from the above discussion :—

(1) Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudi was a Kodumbalur chief who belonged to the period of Nandivarman III (16th year, Kilur inscription—296 of 1902) and Aditya I (21st year no. 33, of Ins. of Pudukkottai State and 27th year—258 of 1903).

(2) A temple called Tiruppudisvaram was built in his days at Kodumbalur either by himself or named after him. This temple, however, is no longer in existence.

(3) He had two wives, viz.,
  (a) Karrali (273 of 1903) and
  (b) Nakkan Vikramakesariyar (A.R. no. 306 of 1903).

(4) This Karrali was different from another Karrali, the queen of Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur (who belonged to the latter half of the 10th century).

(5) He (i.e. Tennavan Ilangovelar) had a daughter named Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar, the builder of the Tiruchchendurai temple. Nangai Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar bought some land from the *Sabha* of Isanamangalam in the 23rd year of a Rajakesarivarman who is

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to be identified with Aditya I[13], evidently for the construction of the temple at Tiruchchendurai. She made gifts of land for certain services to the temple in the 2nd year of a Parakesarivarman (i.e. Parantaka I).[14] An inscription of the 3rd year of a Parakesarivarman[15] (i.e. Parantaka I) mentions that the temple was constructed by Pudi Adichcha Pidari, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovelar and queen of Arikulakesari who was the son of Solapperumanadigal (Parantaka I).

We shall now consider two Rajakesari inscriptions, viz.,

(i) One of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman at Lalgudy (250 of 1931 and SII, XIII, no. 240) and

(ii) One of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman at Tillaisthanam (287 of 1911, SII, III, no. 113).

The first of these two gives us the information that Nangai Varaguna Perumanar was the *sister* of Solapperumanadigal (Chola king) and the second that she was the *queen* of Parantaka Ilangovelar.

The temple of Saptarishisvarar at Lalgudy was an ancient temple rebuilt of stone sometime between the 13th and the 27th year of Rajakesarivarman[16] (i.e. Aditya I).

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[13]A.R. no. 320 of 1903.

[14]A.R. nos. 310 and 319 of 1903.

[15]A.R. no. 316 of 1903 and SII, III, Part III, no. 96.

[16]13th year—Rajakesari 250 of 1931. An earlier inscription of Aditya I re-engraved after the reconstruction of the temple sometime in or before the 27th year of Aditya I. In the section on Lalgudy in my book Early Chola Art Part I (p. 98) I have followed the official view of the Government Epigraphist (SII, III, no. 240; A.R. no. 250 of 1931) that this inscription has to be attributed to *Sundara Chola*. After a fuller consideration of all available evidence, I have to revise my earlier view and assign this inscription to *Aditya I*. In that case, *Nangai Varaguna Perumanar* should be considered the sister of Aditya I, not of Sundara Chola. 2. See also the Editor's introductory note (in SII, III, pt. III, no. 119, p. 249) regarding the inscription of the 13th regnal year of Rajakesarivarman at Tillaisthanam.

"Varaguna Perumanar, under the name of Varaguna, has been mentioned in the Muvarkoyil inscription at Kodumbalur as the wife of Bhuti Vikramakesari whose other name was Madhurantaka Irukkuvel. Perhaps *Parantaka* Irukkuvelar of our inscription is the same as *Madhurantaka* Irukkuvel.

Mr. Venkayya considered that Madhurantaka Irukkuvel was a contemporary of Aditya Karikala II. The paleography suggests a *much earlier period* for the inscriptions."

I am unable to accept these identifications.

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On the north wall of this temple there are four inscriptions, one of a Pandya king whose name is lost (1+4=5th year), one of Maranjadaiyar (9+4=13th year), one of Pallava Nrpatunga (23rd year) and one of the 13th year of a Rajakesarivarman which are all engraved by the *same* hand and in the *same* script. These have to be treated as *later copies of earlier records* belonging to this temple, reengraved on the walls of the same temple after its reconstruction in stone which should have taken place sometime in or before the 27th year (A.D. 898) of Aditya I. This is evident from an inscription of the 27th year of a Rajakesarivarman, which from its high regnal year and its paleographical features should be considered a *genuine original* inscription of the days of Aditya I.[17]

This Lalgudy inscription (copy) of the 13th year of Rajakesari (A.D. 871+13=884)[18] mentions one Nangai Varaguna Perumanar and describes her as the uterine sister (Tiru-vudappirandar) of Solapperumanadigal, the Chola king. And the inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesari from Tillaisthanam gives us the further information that she was the queen of Parantaka Ilangovelar. This inscription has *pulli* marks and can be safely assigned to Aditya I.

It has been suggested that Tennavan Ilangovelar (of A.R. nos. 258 and 273 of 1903—Tirupparaiturai)

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[17]27th year Rajakesari—125 of 1929, SII, XIII, 325. "The early character of the inscription and the high regnal year of the King make the record assignable to Aditya I."

[18]Epigraphia Indica, XX, no. 3, p. 47. In this article on *"Three Inscriptions of Lalgudi"* viz., (1) one of the (4+5) 9th year (of a Pandyan King whose name is lost) concerning a gift by Nandivarman of Tellaru (Pallava king) (2) another of (9+4) 13th year of Pandya Maranjadaiyan and (3) the third of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman, K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar remarks in the course of his discussion that "the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are *in the same hand* must be *treated as later copies of older records* made probably at the time when the temple where they are found, was renovated or repaired." (Epi. Ind. XX, no. 3, p. 47, SII, VIII, no. 631; A.R. no. 322 of 1903)

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is only "another name for Parantaka Ilangovelar"[19] and that he is to be identified with the Kodumbalur chief Bhuti Vikramakesari, and that this Nangai Varaguna Perumanar mentioned in the Tillaisthanam record is identical with Varaguna, the queen of Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur.

This identification is a mere guess and is not supported by any evidence, and the whole structure of this identification rests on insecure foundations.

After mentioning the above inscriptions of Tillaisthanam, Lalgudy and Tirupparaitturai (273 of 1903) K.A.N. Sastri states, "The presumption arises that Varaguna, the sister of the Chola king Rajakesari and wife of Parantaka Ilangovelar, and Karrali the wife of Tennavan Ilangovelar mentioned in these inscriptions may be identical with the two queens of Vikramakesari mentioned in the Kodumbalur inscription. The three Rajakesari inscriptions cited above doubtless belong to about the same period as that of Aditya II to which Venkayya assigned the Kodumbalur inscriptions of Vikramakesari. If what has been urged so far is correct, Vikramakesari must have had also the surnames Parantaka Ilangovelar, Tennavan Ilangovelar, and Maravan Pudiyar. Pudi recalls the name Bhuti which occurs in our Grantha inscription."

It has been stated already that the Lalgudy inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesari (250 of 1931) is *a later copy* of an inscription of Aditya I and all the records of Lalgudy, Tillaisthanam and Tirupparaitturai should be assigned to *Aditya* I, *not to Aditya II* which identification has no proper evidence to sustain

[19]Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 47. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalatturai (Tirupparaitturai—258 and 273 of 1903) refer to Tennavan Ilangovelar which is another name for Parantaka Ilangovelar. They tell us that he was also called Maravan Pudiyar. One of them mentions his queen as Karralipirattiyar also. The name Pudiyar given to Ilangovelar and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Kodumbalur Chief Bhuti Vikramakesari who is reported in the Muvar-Koyil inscription to have married Karrali and Varaguna (ARE, 1907–8, part II, para. 90).

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it. We have already shown that Karrali of Tiruppa-raitturai inscription (258 of 1903) is *not* to be identified with Karrali, the queen of Kodumbalur Vikramakesari.

A certain Varagunatti Perumanar is mentioned in an inscription of the sixth year of a Parakesarivarman at Kudumiyamalai. She is said to be the daughter of a Muttaraiyar chief and the queen of Sembiyan Irukku-velar. This inscription should be assigned to the days of Vijayalaya. This Varaguna is not to be identified with either Varaguna queen of Parantaka Ilangovelar or Varaguna queen of Vikramakesari.

Varaguna of the Tillaisthanam record, the queen of Parantaka Ilangovelar, is to be ascribed to the period of Aditya I. There are *pullis* on consonants in this record to justify this early age. The Lalgudy inscription (copy of an earlier record) should also be assigned to the period of Aditya I and it cannot be a record of Aditya II's age to justify the identification of the Tillaisthanam Varaguna with the Kodumbalur Varaguna. These two Varagunas are *not* identical. We have no further particulars about the latter than that she was the queen of Bhuti Vikramakesari whose inscription is to be assigned to the tenth century.

We are not in a position to accept the inference of K.A.N. Sastri that "Varaguna was the sister of Sundara Chola and daughter of Arinjaya" nor the genealogy published on page 5 of his article in the J.O.R. Madras, Vol. VII. The Tillaisthanam Varaguna (also of Lalgudy) should be assigned to the age of Aditya I.

Next we shall consider another so-called identification of Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan with Parantakan, son of Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur.

The following are the inscriptions relating to Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan :

1. Andanallur—348 of 1903—10th year Parakesari, A.D. 917. Gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a

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lamp by Puliyur Nattadigal, queen of Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan.

2. Nangavaram—337 of 1903—10th year of Parakesarivarman, A.D. 917. In the 10th year of Parakesarivarman, one Solapperundeviyar *alias* Peru Nangai, the consort of Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan made a gift of 1080 *kalanju* of gold on her birthday which coincided with a solar eclipse. Here is an extract from the inscription :

   "Sembiyan Irukkuvelana Pudi Parantakan deviyarana Solapperundeviyarana Perunangai tiruppirandanal Suryagrahanamaha Ubayam panni Perumanadigal mel errina marrili sempon 1080 *kalanju*."

3. Andanallur—359 of 1903, 11th year Parakesarivarman, A.D. 918. Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan is said to be the builder of the temple of Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar of stone (Karrali) at Andavanallur (old name of Andanallur). The relevant text of this inscription is as follows :

   "Andavanallur Tiruvalanduraip Perumanadigalukku Sembiyan Irukkuvelayina Pudi Parantakan Karrali eduppittu devadanam seyvadarkku parakesari panmarkku vinnappam seydu Andavanallurkkanippal nilattil perra nir nilam muveli. Innilam kudinikkiya devadanam seydu kudutten Sembiyan Irukkuvelayina Pudi Parantakan."

4. Andanallur—357 of 1903. 13th year of Parakesarivarman, A.D. 920. Gift of gold for a lamp by (another) queen of Pudi Parantaka, Tingal Nimmadigal.

All these Parakesari records have to be ascribed to Parantaka I and we find that this chief Sembiyan

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Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan was a powerful chief of the days of Parantaka I, closely related to the Chola royal family and that he had three queens, one of them being a Chola princess called Solapperumanadigal *alias* Perunangai.

The temple of Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar at Andanallur was built by Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan sometime before the tenth year of Parantaka I. That he was the builder of this stone temple is stated in an inscription of the 11th year of Parakesarivarman (359 of 1903—*karrali edippittu*) and also in another inscription of the 14th year of Parakesarivarman (358 of 1903), though gifts for lamps are made even in the 10th year of Parakesarivarman (348 of 1903).

In the inscription of the 11th year of Parakesarivarman (359 of 1903) the chief who claims to be the *builder* of the stone temple of Tiru-Alandurai Perumanadigal of Andavanallur (the old name of *Andanallur*) petitioned to the king and got his permission to assign to this temple three *veli* of land, which he had bought and had converted into a *kudinikiya devadanam*.

In the 18*th year* of Parakesarivarman, the *sri-mukham* (royal order) of the king approving of the gift was received by the donor and the said land was made over to the king's local officer, Araiyan Vira Solan who in turn made the *transfer* of the land for necessary action to the *Urar* of Andavanallur in the 25*th year* of Parakesarivarman (360 of 1903). The only Parakesarivarman who had such a high regnal year (18 and 25) in the early Chola period is Parantaka I, and in spite of the absence of the usual historical introduction of 'Madirai Konda', all the Parakesarivarman inscriptions of Andanallur have to be assigned only to Parantaka I.

This identification is confirmed by an inscription of the 15th year of Parakesarivarman (No. 38 of 1895)

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which mentions Pudi Madevadigal the queen of Kannaradeva, son of Aditya I and brother of Parantaka I

K.A.N. Sastri assigns inscription no. 358 of 1903 (SII, III, 139) of the 14th year of Parakesari[20] to Uttama Chola. This is wrong. This inscription should be ascribed to Parantaka I.

No evidence has been advanced to prove the identity of Nangai-Varaguna Perumanar of Lalgudy and Tillaisthanam inscriptions (of the days of Aditya I) with Varaguna, the queen of Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur of the 10th century. Equally unsatisfactory is the effort to equate Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan with Parantakan one of the two sons of Bhuti Vikramakesari. Further, more satisfying proof is required to establish that Bhuti Parantakan (Parantakan son of Bhuti) of Kodumbalur is the same as Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan of the days of Parantaka I, who is mentioned in inscriptions found in Andanallur and Nangavaram.

After this preliminary discussion of the issues involved in the suggested identification of the Kilur chief Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudi with Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur, let us consider the arguments advanced on this question by K.V. Subramanya Iyer and K.S. Vaidyanathan in the article they had contributed to the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.[21]

The authors hold that:—

(a) The Velurpalayam plates speak of a subordinate chief of Nandivarman III, who bore the name of Kumarankusan and the title of "Chola Maharaja—the heroic head-jewel of the Chola race"—at whose request the village of Tirukkattupalli was given away as a *devadana* to a local temple; that this event could not be far removed from the date of the rise of Vijaya-

[20]The Colas, Ist edition, p. 471—year 14—Andanallur, 358 of 1903.
[21]Q.J.M.S. XLIII, pp. 79 ff.

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laya; that the Cholas had formed an alliance with the Yadava King of Konadu who had an ancient feud with the Muttaraiyars; that a Chola princess named Anupama of matchless beauty was married to the Yadava King Samarabhirama of Konadu who reigned from A.D. 883 to 897; that she bore him the son of Bhuti *alias* Vikramakesari, and that this Bhuti figures as a feudatory of the Chola King Aditya I.

(b) The Kodumbalur Muvarkoyil inscription states that Bhuti Vikramakesari fought a sanguinary battle with the Pallavas, that Aditya I killed Aparajita, the last of the Pallava kings in some year prior to A.D. 890; that Bhuti's encounter with the Pallavas must have occurred only either in that year if he had fought as an ally of the Chola, or sometime before that date, if independently, and at any rate, it could not be later, for "there could be no Pallava then."

(c) Another factor that contributed to a distortion of the true date of Bhuti, they hold, is the identification of Vira Pandya, whom he is said to have defeated according to the Muvarkoyil inscription, with Vira Pandya who was the opponent of Parantaka II Sundara Chola and his son Aditya II Karikala. And they add that this identification would not have been made, if Bhuti's success had been given the consideration it deserved, and the date of the inscription of Rajakesarivarman in the twenty-seventh year of the reign in which he figures is taken note of (258 of 1903, SII, VII, 560).

We do not know if and how Kumarankusa Chola Maharaja, the donor of Tirukkattupalli in the Chingleput district was related to Vijayalaya of Uraiyur (near Tiruchy) though the authors are forced to admit that it is only future discoveries that must show what relationship existed between Vijayalaya and Kumarankusa; but they have no hesitation in adopting the said relationship in their genealogy as if firmly estab-

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lished. We are equally at a loss to find the grounds on which they have postulated that Samarabhirama, who married the Chola princess Anupama, should have ruled over Kodumbalur between A.D. 883 and 897. It seems to be an arbitrary fixation of dates.

Secondly, it may be stated that the authors have given exaggerated importance to the claim of Bhuti's victory over the Pallavas on the banks of the Kaveri and the authors have grossly erred in holding that "there could be no Pallava after Rajakesarivarman's victory over Aparajita." Nrpatunga (A.D. 855–896),[21a] Aparajita (A.D. 878–897) and Kampavarman (A.D. 878–910) continued with some semblance of power in different parts of the northern Pallava country round about Kanchi and Uttaramerur in the second half of the ninth century and even almost till the beginning of the reign of Parantaka I (till A.D. 910). The Karandai Copper Plate grant of Rajendra I mentions that "Parantaka I defeated a Pallava and gained possession of his country, wealth and paraphernalia "*rashtrani, vasuni, vahanani*" (Ep. Report 1949–50–A. 57 & 58 and J.O.R. Vol. XIX, Part 2).

Lastly, let us take the Vira Pandya struggle with the Cholas. A Pandya ruler called Vira Pandya—the first Vira Pandya known to South Indian epigraphy—makes his appearance about the end of the first quarter of the tenth century (about A.D. 923) after the flight of Rajasimha the last ruler of the first empire of the Pandyas. How he was related to Rajasimha, we do not know; but there is every possibility of his being his son, who tried to carry on a desperate struggle for Pandya independence against Chola aggression.

21(a) These dates of the Later Pallavas are only tentative, and may need revision in the light of further discoveries. K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar states that "one of the records of *Nrpatunga* furnishes astronomical details which work out correctly to A.D. 867 yielding his *accession* to A.D. 845" (SII, VII, no. 528, A.R. No. 303–C of 1901).

But it will not alter the trend of our discussion.

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This Vira Pandya claims the title of "Solan-talai-konda" (who took the head of the Chola king). And a number of other rulers and chiefs—Sundara Chola, Aditya II *alias* Karikala, Parthivendravarman, and Bhuti Vikramakesari—all belonging to the latter half of the 10th century equally claim victory over Vira Pandya. We are concerned with this Vira Pandya who was contemporaneous with all these four rulers. K.V. Subramanya Iyer and K.S. Vaidyanathan claim that it is a distortion of facts to equate the Vira Pandya the opponent of Bhuti Vikramakesari with the Vira Pandya the adversary of Sundara Chola and Aditya II[22] and because of the absence of any evidence to prove their case, they merely hazard the opinion that there might have existed an imaginary Vira Pandya whose name might have been omitted by the Prasasti-writers and suggested that Vira Pandya might have been a contemporary or successor of Rajasimha. We agree that Vira Pandya was a successor of Rajasimha, in the first quarter of the 10th century; and if this is granted, the case for identifying Tennavan Ilangovelan *alias* Maravan Pudi of Aditya I's period with Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur totally fails.

In the 3rd year of his accession, Parantaka I assumes the title of "Madirai konda" and so his first war and conquest of Madurai must have taken place in or before his third year.[23]

Parantaka I's war with the Pandyas and his great victory at the battle of Velur and the celebration of this victory over the Pandyas and the Ceylonese find mention in two of Parantaka I's inscriptions of his twelfth regnal year.[24]

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[22]"Another factor that contributed to the distortion of the true date of Bhuti is the identification of Vira Pandya with the opponent of Sundara Chola and Aditya II"—QMS, XLIII.

[23] A.R.no. 11 of 1931 and 157 of 1928.

[24] A.R nos. 231 of 1926 of Kilappaluvur and 693 of 1904 of Tirupparkkadal.

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It was perhaps after this that Parantaka I assumed the title of "Madiraiyum Ilamum konda," the conqueror of Madurai and Ilam.[25] And inscriptions of Parantaka I of his 24th, 33rd and 36th regnal years[26] are found in the Pandya country. An inscription from the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam mentions an impost of 3,000 *kalanju* for the maintenance of the Pandya army (army for waging war with the Pandyas) levied upon the assembly of Tirukkudamukku (Kumbakonam) as *dandam* (impost or levy) by Madiraikonda Udayar (Parantaka I) in his 38th year.[27] Parantaka I should have been engaged in preparations for a third war with the Pandyas and the Ceylonese for the recovery of the traditional insignia of the Pandyan rulers in order to invest himself with them on the occasion of the formal celebration of his coronation at Madurai. This is just the period of the mortal struggle of Vira Pandya for Pandyan independence.

The first epigraphical reference to Vira Pandya known so far is found in an inscription of the 20th year of Rajasimha[28] (C.A.D.923) where a servant of Vira Pandya figures as a donor. A.S. Ramanatha Iyer has discussed the date of Vira Pandya in the Ambasamudram inscription of "Solan-Talai-konda Vira Pandya" and fixed it with valid reasons supported by astronomical details[29] as A.D.947, and that his highest regnal year so far known in his inscriptions is twenty[30] (A.D. 947 to 966).

In his 6th year Vira Pandya[31] (A.D.953=46th year of Parantaka I) claims to have taken the head of the Chola and assumes the title of "Solan-talai-konda."

[25] 16th year A.R. No. 331 of 1927—Tiruppurambiyam.

[26] 24th year—446 of 1917, 33rd year—63 of 1905 and 36th year—448 of 1917.

[27] A.R. no. 255 of 1911, A.D. 945.

[28] A.R. no. 122 of 1902.

[29] Epi. Indica XXV, No. 6, p. 35 ff.

[30] Salaigramam inscription—15+5 year of Vira Pandya, Epi. Indica, XXVIII, no. 17.

[31] A.R. No. 163 of 1894—SII, V, 455.

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It was either a defeat of the Chola or the cutting off of the head of a Chola prince, who led the Chola army. Ramanatha Ayyar suggests that it might be Uttamasili, the son of Parantaka I.

After Parantaka I, the Pandyan War should have been continued under Sundara Chola (A.D.956-73) and in this, his heroic son Aditya (II) Karikala should have played a distinguished part. Sundara Chola claims victory against the Pandya in the battle of Sevur or Chevvura (about A.D. 963). The Kanyakumari inscription states that the Pandyan foe fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. An inscription of the 7th year of Sundara Chola[32] claims for him the title of "Pandyanaichuram irakkina Perumal Sri Sundara Chola deva." And the Karandai Copper Plates confirm that Sundara Chola fought with Vira Pandya and forced him to seek shelter in the Sahya mountains (Sahyadri=Western Ghats). And the part played by the crown prince Aditya (II) is described vividly in the Leyden Grant thus : "While yet a boy, he (Aditya) played sportively in battle with Vira Pandya just as a lion's cub (does) with a rutting mad elephant proud of its strength."

It was in this and the subsequent wars that Bhuti Vikramakesari[33] Parthivendra[34] and the Chola Senapati Pirantakan Irungolar *alias* Siriyavelar[35] should have distinguished themselves.

Vira Pandya should have rallied his forces and renewed his war with the Cholas. It was in this battle with Vira Pandya that Aditya II in his second regnal year

[32]291 of 1908—Epi. Ind. XII, pp. 121–6.

[33]Muvarkoyil inscription.

[34]'Pandyan or Vira Pandyan Talai konda' 2nd year Parthivendravarman—A.R. no. 195 of 1915 and 223 of 1915.

[35] 2nd year Rajakesari—317 of 1907, 4th year—370 of 1907, 5th year—40 of 1907, 7th year—291 of 1908, 14th year—299 of 1908 (wife and daughter of Siriyavelar), 302 of 1908—(inscription A.R. no. 116 of 1896—Siriyavelar died in Ceylon in the 9th year of Ponmaligai Tunjina devar or Sundara Chola, 27th year Rajaraja I—SII, V, no. 980.

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(A.D.965) should have defeated Vira Pandya and cut off his head in the field of battle and placed it on a pillar of victory set up at Madurai. Hence the claim of Aditya II's title "Vira Pandyan talai konda." It seems that it is this event that is described in the Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra I. They say that Aditya (II) "killed the Pandya king in battle, and having deposited in his (capital) town the lofty pillar of victory viz. the head of the Pandya king, Aditya disappeared (from this world) with a desire to see Heaven". The last statement is a reference to the brutal murder of Aditya II (about A.D.969) by assassins mentioned in the Udaiyargudi inscription of Rajaraja I[36].

Thus, it will be clear that there is no Vira Pandya at all during the days (of the Kilur inscription) of Nandivarman III and of the reign of Aditya I and that the earliest reference to Vira Pandya is in A.D.923 in a gift made by a servant of Vira Pandya. Perhaps he made himself ruler of the Pandya country about A.D.947 and carried on a relentless struggle with the Cholas till his defeat and overthrow at the hands of Aditya II in the second year of the latter's accession as crown prince and heir-apparent (A.D.966).

And Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur should have played a great part along with other *famous* generals in the Chola struggle with Vira Pandya.

While discussing the Salaigramam inscription (inscription B) of 'Solan-talai-konda Vira Pandya', M. Venkataramayya holds that this Pandya ruler should be placed in the *second quarter of the tenth century*[37]. Therefore the victory claimed by Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur against Vira Pandya must be placed in the period of the reigns of Parantaka I (later period), Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II and Aditya II;

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[36]2nd year Rajakesari, Udaiyargudi—577 of 1920.

[37]Epi, Indica, XXVII no. 17—Salaigramam inscription of Solan-talai-konda Vira Pandya.

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and this will take us to the middle of the tenth century. Therefore Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudi of the Kilur inscription of the period of Nandivarman III (about A.D.851) and Aditya I cannot be equated with Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur, the contemporary of Sundara Chola and Aditya II of the middle of the tenth century. The two are separated by almost a century (from A.D.850 to 950).

At the same time, we have to admit that there are many points like the claim of Paradurgamardana's conquest of Vatapi, Samarabhirama's overthrow of the Chalukki at the battle of Adhirajamangalam, and the identity of Anupama, the Chola princess, which could not be satisfactorily explained in the context of the available epigraphical materials. Future epigraphical discoveries alone can try to find, if at all, a more satisfactory solution. We have simply to admit that we know nothing more about Karrali and Varaguna and about the two sons Parantaka and Adityavarman of Bhuti Vikramakesari by Karrali than the particulars furnished by the Muvarkoyil inscription. All the elaborate identifications attempted by the two authors and the so-called achievements foisted on the two sons of Bhuti Vikramakesari remain unproved. In any scientific investigation, established facts and probable shrewd surmises should be kept distinct. From this point of view, the genealogy presented by the authors is misleading, unsatisfactory and untrustworthy.

A. Rangaswami identifies Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur with Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan of the days of Dantivarman, the excavator of the cave temple of Malaiyadippatti and assigns Vikramakesari to A.D 800. This is equally untenable.[38]

F.H.Gravely and T.N. Ramachandran have discussed the date of the Muvarkoyil temple at Kodumbalur

[38]Vizianagaram College Magazine, July 1923.

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in a Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum[39] and they hold that "the date of the Kodumbalur temples is still a matter of controversy. As one of them bears an inscription referring to the conquest of Badami by the builder's grand-father, and the slaying of the Chalukya king by his father, it is tempting to see in them not only the influence of Pallava architecture through the Valaiyan-Kuttai Ratha, but also that of Chalukya temples, such as those just mentioned which also have square *sikharas*. This would be quite possible if the reign of Vikramakesari, the builder of the Kodumbalur temples was from about A.D.950 to 970 as suggested by Nilakanta Sastri, though a century earlier would seem to fit it better. And the much earlier date suggested by Heras is just possible, if these temples are a development of the Valaiyan-Kuttai Ratha, itself evidently a development of the *rathas* known to have been made by the very king with whom, according to this theory, Vikramakesari's father should be contemporary though perhaps somewhat younger."

The authors seem to favour all the three dates, 7th, 9th and 10th centuries! Here we miss the firm handling of this question.

Father Heras[40] was of opinion that the Muvarkoyil inscription should be assigned to about A.D.670 chiefly on the ground that the grandfather of Vikramakesari claimed the conquest of Vatapi. At the same time he was surprised and puzzled that the architectural features appeared Chola, rather than Pallava, that the shrines looked more of the tenth century than of the seventh, and concluded that they are "an architectural puzzle without precedent and without consequent, totally unique in South Indian Architecture."

The date A.D.670 suggested for the Muvarkovil temple by Father Heras is just a little earlier than that

[39]Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 10.
[40]JRAS, 1934 and 1935.

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of the Kailasanathar temple at Kanchipuram which is one of the earliest and best planned of the stone structural temples of the days of Pallava Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II. In that case, no doubt, it will be an architectural anachronism. But it is not so. After the temple of Valaiyan-Kuttai temple, there are a number of early Chola temples, particularly of the reigns of Aditya I and Parantaka I viz, the Sundaresvarar temple of Tirukkattalai, Avanikandarpa-Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur (Melappaluvur), the Chandrasekharar temple at Tiruchchendurai and the Muchukundesvarar temple of Kodumbalur itself all of which may well be considered the precedents of the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur.

Thus we are led on to the following conclusions :

1 The identity attempted to be established between Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maravan Pudi of the Kilur record and Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur has not been proved and cannot be sustained[41] and that the two are separated by about a century.

2 The genealogy of the Irukkuvels which Krishnan claims to have been "thoroughly discussed by K.V. Subramanya Iyer and K.S.Vaidyanathan" is not trustworthy (See Appendix V).

3 Vikramakesari's war with Vira Pandya could not have been earlier than the middle of the tenth century. It could not be assigned to the age of Aditya I to which the chief of the Kilur record belonged.

4 Karrali and Varaguna the two wives of Bhuti Vikramakesari should be considered different from other queens of the same name found in the earlier inscriptions of Aditya I.

5 Pudi Adichcha Pidari (the builder of the Tiruchchendurai temple) was the daughter of Tennavan Ilangovelar and the queen of Arikulakesari, son of Parantaka I.

6 Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan was

[41]Epi. Indica, XXXII, no. 10, paras 2–3.

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the builder of the Andanallur temple. He is not to be identified with Parantakan son of Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur.

7 It is *not* correct to hold that Tennavan Ilangovelar (Kilur) is another name for Parantaka Ilangavelar (Tillaisthanam, 287 of 1911) and that both are identical with Bhuti Vikramakesari of Kodumbalur.

Description

As already stated, only two (the central and the southern) out of the three shrines of Muvarkoyil exist today. The temple faces the west. Each of the two existing shrines is 21 feet (6.4 m.) square at the base. The *ardha-mandapas* are 18 ft. (5.49 m.) square. Now they are roofless. There is a common *mukhamandapa* in front, of which only the plinth remains; it measures 91 ft. (28 m.) by 41 ft. (12.5 m.) The basement of the *nandimandapa,* the *balipitham* and the *dvajasthambam* could be seen. There seem to have been many (fifteen or sixteen) *subshrines* all round the three shrines, and a compound wall enclosing all the shrines. The subshrines had each a *garbhagriha* and a *mandapa* in front. The *madil* (wall of enclosure) had perhaps two gateways, one of which might have had a *gopuram*. The basement of the central shrine had *padmam* and *kumudam* mouldings crowned with a *yali* frieze ending at the edges with gaping *makaras* with insets of human figures. The walls of the *garbhagriha* have three niches, flanked by two pilasters, and the whole *koshta* is surmounted by a *makara torana* resting on further two taller pilasters.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze full of animated figures playing on musical instruments below the cornice, and a *yali frieze* above. The cornice is adorned on each side with six *kudus* crowned with trifoliated finials and fine scroll work at the corners.

Each shrine is a *dvi-tala* structure. In the second *tala* there is a central *panchara* surmounted by a wagon

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roof (*sala*) and adorned with an ornamental *kudu* at the top. There are two cubical *pancharas* at the ends (*kuta*).

Above, there is another *yali frieze*. The *griva* has a central *figure-niche* adorned with a *kudu* with a *simha* head which projects into the *sikhara*.

The *sikhara* is *four-sided* and *curvilinear* as in the case of the Draupati Ratha at Mamallapuram. And on the *padma* pattika rests the four-sided *stupi*.

The sculptures of the *devakoshtas* and the other niche figures are among the finest specimens of early Chola Art. One is struck with admiration at the height of excellence attained by early Chola Art. Some of the sculptures of this temple have been removed and lodged in the Government Museums at Pudukkottai and Madras. A few more can still be seen in the premises of the temple (Pls. 93 - 102).

The existing figures in the niches of the two shrines are given below :

		Central shrine	*Southern shrine*
East	*garbhagriha*	Ardhanari	Gangadhara
	2nd *tala*	Parvati on Siva's lap	Kalari-murti
	griva	Indra	Andhakasura
North	*garbhagriha*	Siva (standing)	Siva (standing)
	2nd *tala*	Sitting Siva	Sankaranarayana
	griva	Sitting Siva	no figure now
South	*garbhagriha*	no figure now	Vinadhara-Dakshina-murti
	2nd *tala*	Dakshinamurti	Kalarimurti
	griva	Vinadhara-Dakshina-murti	Gajasamharamurti
West	*griva*	Alinganamurti	

APPENDIX I

PANDYAN WAR

Parantaka I (A.D. 907 to 955)

I War before the 3rd year A.D. 910—'Maduraikonda' title.

II War before the 12th year : Battle of Velur A.D. 919—'Maduraiyum Ilamumkonda' title.

III War, preparations for — after the 36th year of Parantaka I. 38th year—'Dandam' collected (A.D. 945) mentioned in an

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inscription of the 3rd year (255 of 1911) of Gandaraditya, in the Nagesvarar temple, Kumbakonam : vide p 134 ECA I.

APPENDIX II

VIRA PANDYA

Vira Pandya's war with the Cholas (Sundara and Aditya II)

(Dates approximate)

A.D. 923 : Vira Pandya's servant makes a gift (122 of 1905).
A.D. 923–947 : Vira Pandya's struggle for power.
A.D. 947 : Accession of Vira Pandya (rules 20 years).
A.D. 953 : Vira Pandya's claim of title of *Solan-talai-konda*.
A.D. 963 : Sundara Chola's victory over Vira Pandya, Battle of Sevur (291 of 1908—E.I., XII, pp. 121–6).
A.D. 965 : Accession of Aditya II as heir-apparent and co-regent of Sundara Chola.
A.D. 966 : 2nd year of Aditya II who assumes the title of *'Vira-Pandyan-talai-konda'*.
A.D. 969 : Murder of Aditya II and accession of Uttama Chola.

1. Vide inscription of the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya, on a pillar in the inner enclosure of the Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai. The editor remarks :— "This must be the *early Vira Pandya* whose *Vatteluttu* inscriptions are found in the Tirunelvelly district and in which he claims in his turn to have taken the head of the Chola" ; (SII, III, part III, no. 199) A.R. no. 472 of1908).

2. *Vira Pandya* of the *Sivakasi plates* (Ten Pandya Copper Plates—Tamil History Academy, Madras—pp. 177–206) belongs to the period of Rajendra Chola I (11th century A.D.) as his son Rajadhiraja I claims in his *prasasti* to have worsted all the three rulers Manabharana, Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya mentioned in the Sivakasi Plates.

APPENDIX III

Nakkan Vikramakesari (wife)	=Tennavan Ilangovel (*alias* Maravan Pudi)	=Nangai Karrali Pirattiyar (wife)
(i) Tiruchchendurai inscription of 2nd year of Parakesari, A.D. 909 (A.R. 306 of 1903)	(i) *Kilur* inscription of 16th year of Nandivarman III, A.D. 851 (296 of 1902)	(i) *Tirupparaithurai* inscription (year lost) of Rajakesari (A.R. 273 of 1903)

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Chola king
Parantaka I

(ii) *Tirupparaithurai* inscription of 27th year of Rajakesari Aditya I. A.D. 898 (258 of 1903)

Arinjaya (*alias* Arikula Kesari) = Pudi Adichcha Pidari (daughter) (builder of Tiruchchendurai temple)

(i) *Tiruchchendurai* inscription of 27th year of Rajakesari (Aditya I), A.D. 898 (A.R. 320 of 1903)

(ii) *Tiruchchendurai* inscription of 3rd year of Parakesari (Parantaka I), A.D. 910 (A.R. 316 of 1903)

Bana Chief (Killed in a war with the Ceylonese) = Arinjigaipirattiyar (daughter)

(i) *Tiruvidaimarudur* inscription of 38th year of Parakesari (Parantaka I), A.D. 945 (A.R. 252 of 1907)

(ii) *Tirunagesvaram* inscription of 2nd year of Rajakesari (Gandaraditya?), A.D. 951 (A.R. 215 of 1911)

(iii) *Tirunagesvaram* inscriptions of 14th year of Rajaraja I, A.D. 999, (A.R. 218 of 1911 and 81 of 1897)

(b)

Vijayalaya

Aditya I (Solapperumanadigal)	*Nangai Varaguna Perumanar*	=	Parantaka Ilangovelar
(tiru-udap-pirandar, sister of Solapperumanadigal)	*Lalgudy* 13th year, Rajakesari (= Aditya I) A.D. 884 (A.R. 250 of 1931; SII, XIII, no. 240)		*Tillaisthanam* 13th year, Rajakesari (= Aditya I) A.D. 884 (A.R. 287 of 1911; SII, XIII, no. 233; Epi. Ind. XX p. 53)

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(c)

Sembiyan Irukkuvel alias Pudi Parantakan

A.D. 917–921 (i) 11th year of Parakesari = A.D. 918, A.R. 359 of 1903. *Andanallur* builder of the Alandurai Mahadevar Temple at Andanallur.	=	(i) *Solapperum deviyar alias Perunangai*, 10th year of Parakesari = A.D. 917, A.R. 337 of 1903 *Nangavaram* : gift of 1080 *kalanju* on her birthday
(ii) 14th year of Parakesari = A.D. 921, A.R. 358 of 1903, SII III no. 139	=	(ii) *Puliyur Nattadigal*, 10th year of Parakesari = A.D. 917 A.R. 348 of 1903 *Andanallur* : gift of a lamp
Andanallur This chief performs *Jalasamprokshana* ceremony to the temple at Andanallur and makes on this occasion a gift of land	=	(iii) *Tingal Nimmadigal* 13th year of Parakesari = A.D. 920 A.R. 357 1903. *Andanallur* : gift of a lamp

(d) *Varaguna*

1. Muttaraiyar chief.
   Varaguna = Sembiyan Irukkuvelar
   Kudumiyamalai cave temple inscription no. 45—Pudukkottai inscription.
   6th yr.—Parakesarivarman (Vijayalaya?)

2. Solapperumandigal Varaguna = Parantaka Ilangovelar

Lalgudy 13th year Rajakesari (Aditya I) 250 of 1930–31 (Varaguna, *sister* of Solapperumanadigal)	*Tillaisthanam* 13th year Rajakesari, 287 of 1911. (Varaguna, *deviyar* of *Parantaka Ilangovelar*)

3. Bhuti Vikramakesari = (i) Varaguna
   Kodumbalur No. 14, (ii) Karrali
   Text of Pudukkottai Inscriptions.

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1. These three Varagunas are not identical.

2. The view that this *Parantaka Ilangovelar* is identical with *Vikramakesari* of Kodumbalur is untenable (See The Colas Vol. I pp. 187 and 378; Epi. Ind. XX, p. 53; and A.R. no. 287 of 1911, SII. XIII, no. 233).

(e) *Karrali*

1. Tennavan Ilango (*alias* Maravan Pudi) Kilur inscription 16 yr. Nandivarman III, 296 of 1902).	= Nangai Karrali Pirattiyar Tirupparaitturai inscription (year lost) Rajakesarivarman 273 of 1903.
2. Bhuti Vikramakesari	= 1. Karrali. 2. Varaguna. Kodumbalur inscription of Bhuti Vikramakesari (A.R. 129 of 1907 and Text of Pudukkottai Inscriptions. No. 14)

These two Karrali's are not identical.

APPENDIX IV

KODUMBALUR INSCRIPTION

Genealogy of the Irukkuvels.

1. A king (name lost)
|
2. Paravirajit
|
3. Viratunga
(conquered the Malavas)
|
4. Ativira Anupama
|
5. Sangakrit
|
6. Nripakesari
|
7. Paradurgamaradana
(conquered Vatapi)
|
8. Samarabhirama
(destroyed the Chalukki at the battle of Adhirajamangalam; married Anupama, a Chola princess)
|

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9. Bhuti Vikramakesari.
married
(two wives)

(i) claims victory over the Pallavas on the banks of the Kaveri.
(ii) defeated Vira Pandya
(iii) killed Vanchivel
(iv) built a palace at Kodumbalur

(a) Karrali = (b) = Varaguna

Parantakan Adityavarman.

APPENDIX V

Genealogy adopted by K.V. Subramania Aiyer and K.S. Vaidyanathan.

Bhuti (Vikramakesari) *alias* Tennavan Ilangovelar *alias* Maran Piduvanar (Crown-prince in A.D. 883–897) ; defeated the Pallavas and Vira Pandya in *circa* A.D. 898, A.D. 913).

Pudi Aditta Pidariyar *m.* Arinjiya

Pudi Parantakan *alias* Sembiyan Irukkuvel, m.
(1) Varaguna-natti, daughter of Muttaraiyar;
(2) Puliyur nattadigal;
(3) Singala nimmadi;
(4) Nangai Nandi, and
(5) Solapperundeviyar *alias* Peranangai (A.D. 913–927)

Parantakan Vira Solan *alias* Mahimalaya Irukkuvel (A.D. 958–965)

Aditya Pudi Aditta Pidaran *alias* Sembiyan Ilangovel A.D. 927

Madurantakan Irukkuvel *alias* Adittan Pudi (also called Adittan Vikramakesari) (A.D. 928/9 to *circa* A.D. 958)

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Karkotakesvarar temple
(*Tirunallur Paramesvarar or Mahadevar temple*)

Kamarasavalli

Kamarasavalli is in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk of Tiruchy district on the north bank of the (Kollidam) Coleroon about 14 miles (22.5 km.) from Kilappaluvur. The temple of Karkotakesvaram is an important early Chola temple.

The temple seems to have been in existence as a brick structure even in the days of Aditya I, as two of its inscriptions refer to an irrigation channel called Kodandarama vaikkal or Kodandarama - peruvaikkal. One of the earliest extant inscriptions found on the south wall of the central shrine belongs to the 9th regnal year of a certain Parakesarivarman (No. 78 of 1914). It has been said that portions of an inscription of Rajaraja I were engraved over an erasure of an earlier inscription. Perhaps this palimpsest inscription might have been a foundation-inscription; even otherwise it might have thrown some more light on the origin or the establishment of this temple at an earlier time. Whatever be that, this inscription of the 9th regnal year of Parakesarivarman mentioned above is assigned by the Government Epigraphist to Aditya II Karikala; but as he is not credited with such a high regnal year, it has to be assigned to Parantaka I or to Uttama Chola. But the evidence is not sufficient or conclusive for assigning the inscription definitely to either of them. Anyhow it contains the earliest mention of the Kodandarama vaikkal named after Aditya I; and the *Perunguri Perumakkal* of the *brahmadesam* of Kamarasavalli Chaturvedimangalam on the northern bank (of the kollidam) made a gift of land as *jivitam* for the conduct of *Sribali* and *Tiruppalli-eluchchi* services to the Lord Tirunallur Paramesvarar as the Lord of Karkotakesvarar temple was then called. Gifts for

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lamps and *Sribali* ceremonies are generally among the earliest of temple endowments.

The next important inscription is one of the 5th year of a certain Rajakesarivarman. A gift of land for *Sidari* to the deity of this temple, called here 'Tirunallur Mahadevar' is made by Balasriya Bhattan Sivan Kuttan of Adanur. This inscription (no. 74 of 1914, SII, XIII, no. 109) has been assigned to the reign of Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II. The same donor makes an endowment in the same regnal year of Ko-Rajakesarivarman to the temple of Tiruppalturai Mahadevar (Adimulesvarar temple) at Uttama-Sili-Chaturvedimangalam (no. 171 of 1907 - SII, XIII, no. 106). The present temple structure of Kamarasavalli seems to have come into existence, if not earlier, at the latest, some time before the 5th regnal year of Sundara Chola (A.D.961).

There are eight inscriptions which relate to the reign of Rajaraja I. One of his 13th year mentions a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold the interest on which was to be given to those who recited the *Talavakara Sama Veda* on the day of *Tiruvadirai* in the month of *Margali*. As already stated, a portion of this inscription is engraved over an erasure of an earlier inscription (no. 76 of 1914). One of his 15th regnal year mentions a gift of land for the offering of *akkara-adalai* (sweet rice pudding) on the festival day of *Margali Tiruvadirai*. A gift of gold for midday offerings on new moon days was made in the 17th year of Rajaraja I.

We get the interesting information that the strength of the local assembly was *eighty* from an inscription of the 20th year of Rajaraja I. A gift of tanks and ponds for supplying red-lotuses daily during the month of *Dhanus* to the Mahadeva is recorded in an inscription of the 22nd year of Rajaraja I. A gift of land for sandal paste (70 of 1914) and another of gold for lamps (64

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and 63 of 1914) are recorded in three other inscriptions of Rajaraja I.

There are three inscriptions of Rajendra I; one of his 8th regnal year (A.D. 1020, no. 72 of 1914) mentions a gift of land to this temple; but the assembly is said to have met at another temple in the locality called Sri Kailasam Udaiyar temple. The next is one of the 17th regnal year of Vira Rajendra Chola Deva — Rajendra I. Portions of this are lost and it mentions a gift of land to the temple of 'Tirunallur Mahadeva' (Karkotakesvaram). *Sakkai-kuthu* was a form of dancing popular in the Tamil land from the Sangam age onwards. A grant of land by the *Perunguri sabhai* of Kamarasavalli Chaturvedimangalam was made to Sakkai Marayan Vikrama Cholan for performing *Sakkai-kuthu* thrice on each of the festivals of *Margali Tiruvadirai and Vaigasi Tiruvadirai.*

We pass on to the reign of Kulottunga I. We have mentioned the existence of a temple called Kailasam-Udaiyar at Kamarasavalli referred to in an inscription of Rajendra I (72 of 1914). In another inscription of the 26th year of Kulottunga Chola Deva I (A.D. 1096), it is stated that this Siva temple called Srikailasam *alias* Rajendra Chola Isvaram was found in a state of neglect; neither the *Sribali* services not the procession were being conducted. So the assembly of Kamarasvalli Chaturvedimangalam decided to revive these items of services in this temple by collecting one *Kuruni* of paddy from each harvested field of one *ma* in extent growing paddy, millet or gingily, one nut from every *areca* tree, and one *ulakku* of oil from each *vellan's* house (homestead) in the village and its hamlets. It was also decided that these collections were to be made by the revenue officials (No. 73 of 1914 and page 98 of Madras Epi. Report, 1915).

In the 27th year of Kulottunga I, a gift of land for a flower garden to the Karkotakesvaram temple is

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made by the assembly of Kamarasavalli Chaturvedimangalam a *brahmadeya* in *Virai Kurram,* included in the sub-division of Geya-Vinoda-valanadu.

A gift of money for three lamps was made in the 50th year of Kulottunga I. Here the sub-division is called Vadagarai *Ulaguyyavanda Sola* Valanadu, evidently based on another title of Kulottunga I.

Another temple in this locality called Tiruvagattisvaram (Agastisvaram) Udaiya Mahadevar at Valavan Puliyangudi in Vadagarai Ulaguyyavanda Sola valanadu is mentioned in another inscription of the 50th year of Kulottunga I and it makes a gift of land for worship in this temple.

There are three inscriptions of Vikrama Chola. The first of the 4th regnal year concerns a gift of money for a lamp to the temple of Tiru-karkotaka-Isvaram Udaiyar; the second of the 14th year mentions a gift of land; and the third also of the 14th year mentions a gift of ten *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to this temple. The sub-division in which Kamarasavalli Chaturvedimangalam was situated is renamed Vikrama Chola Valanadu.

A gift of land for two lamps was made in the 3rd year (A.D. 1135) of Rajakesarivarman Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulottunga Chola Deva (II) (87 of 1914).

A native of Alangudi makes a gift of money for a lamp and midnight offerings and for betel leaves, areca nuts, a knife (Kilikattu) and a pair of scissors to the God and Goddess in the 10th year of Tribhuvana Chakaravarti Kulottunga Chola Deva who took Madurai (83 of 1914). Perhaps this inscription has to be assigned to the reign of Kulottunga III (acc. A.D. 1178).

There are three inscriptions which might be assigned to the reign of Rajaraja III. The growing weakness of the Chola empire, the rise of over-mighty chiefs and the disturbed condition of the Chola country are

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There are sub-shrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanyar and Chandesvarar. (Pls. 104 - 128)

This temple may be assigned to the period of Sundara Chola with later additions. It is bigger and more evolved than the temples of Tiruvaduturai and Punjai.

Tintrinisvarar temple

Tindivanam

Tindivanam is the modern name applied to the area formerly known as *Gidangil* where flourished a local chief called *Kidangil Koman* whose glory is sung by by the poets of the Sangam age. Even now the big tank in the southern part of the town near the railway station is called *Gidangileri*. The early Chola Siva temple here was known as *Tirut-tindisvara devar* temple at *Gidangil*. The name of the deity came to be given to the town itself and so it is named Tindivanam, a railway station on the main line (Madras - Dhanushkoti) of the Southern Railway.

The oldest inscription on the walls of this temple seems to be one of the 5th year of a Rajakesarivarman who is perhaps to be identified with Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II. This inscription is built in and seems to record a gift of a number of lamps to the temple by different persons.

An inscription of the 10th year of Rajaraja I refers to a gift of land for two musicians, one a player on the *vina* and the other a *vocalist* who were to sing before God Tiruttindisvara-devar ("vinai vasippanukkum udan paduvan oruvaraukkum"; SII, VII, no. 154; A.R. no. 141 of 1900).

The central shrine and the *ardhamandapa* can be regarded as the original temple of Pre-Rajaraja I's days (10th century). As in the case of temples of this period, we have *devakoshtas* with idols of Ganesa and Dakshinamurti on the southern, Vishnu on the western and *Brahma* and Durga on the northern side.

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(1) *Saptamatrika temple* (*Kala Bhatari*)

(2) *Dandisvarar temple* (*Tiruttandisvaram Tirkkarrali Mahadevar temple*)

Velachcheri

Velachcheri is in the Saidapet taluk of the Chingleput district about two miles (3.2 km.) from the Saidapet-Adayar bridge on the road to Tambaram. It was formerly named *Velichcheri* in Kottur *nadu* of Puliyur *Kottam* in Tondaimandalam. There are here two early Chola temples.

1 *The Saptamatrika temple* (Selliyamman)

One is the temple for the Saptamatrikas which lies on the right of the road. There are two inscriptions on the walls of this temple; one of the fourth year of a Parakesarivarman without distinguishing epithets. He may be Arinjaya or Uttama Chola, if not Parantaka I himself. It refers to a gift of land and offerings to the temple of *Kala-Bhatari,* as the deity is called.

There is another inscription of the 10th year of Parthivendradhipativarman who may be a contemporary member of the royal family or a local feudatory of the days of Sundara Chola (or Aditya II himself before he was recognised as co-ruler?). A person from Tiruvetpur in Sola *nadu* (a suburb of modern Pudukkottai town) bought some lands and after having got them tax free by the *mahasabha* of Velichcheri, presented them for offerings to the Saptamatrikas of this village. The *Matru-Sivas,* who were the members in charge of the administration of the affairs of the Saptamatrika temple, received the lands and agreed to maintain the charity.

The Selliyamman temple is an *ekatala prasada.* The sculptures installed in the sanctum are Ganapati (east), Chamunda, Indrani, Varahi, Vaishnavi, Brahmi, Mahesvari, Kaumari (all in the south in a row) and Virabhadra (west). The *garbhagriha* alone is intact.

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2 *The Siva temple.*

The deity of the Siva temple in the same village is called *Tirukkarrali Mahadeva* in the temple of *Tirut-tandisvaram* at Velichcheri. The modern name Dandisvaram should be a corruption of Tandisvaram. There are two inscriptions of the 5th and the 7th years of *Maduraikonda Rajakesari* who may be Sundara Chola. The Government Epigraphist assigns the inscription of the 5th regnal year of Madiraikonda Rajakesaripanmar (A.R. no. 315 of 1911) to Gandaraditya (see SII. III, pt. III, no. 114, pp. 250–251). Both of them are gifts for lamps to the temple. The one of his 7th year mentions that two persons from Sonadu purchased land from the Assembly of Velichcheri and presented it to the temple of *Tirut-tandisvarattu Mahadevar* for a lamp and offerings to the shrine of Ganapati consecrated by them within the temple. It is mentioned that the *Mahasabha* met in the *brahmasthana* of the village and effected the transaction. It was declared that the Siva brahmans of the *Tiruvunnaligai* (temple-stores?) were to be responsible for the actual conduct of the charity and the *Ganaperumakkal* (Managing Committee of the village) and the ruling king were to be its protectors.

An inscription of the 9th year of a Rajakesarivarman who may be Sundara Chola records a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp by one of the members of the governing body of the village.

This is an *ekatala prasada*. It is built of stone (*karrali*). The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The latter has two *dvarapalas* at its entrance (Pls. 129-134).

The plinth has plain mouldings and it is 1½ feet high. The pilaster including the *podigai* is five feet high.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 13½ feet (3.7 m.) side externally. Inside, it measures 6½ feet (1.96 m.) east to west.

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There are five *devakoshtas* adorned with *devatas*. Ganapati (s) and Durga (n) on the walls of the *ardhamandapa* and Dakshinamurti (s), Lingodbhavar (w) and Brahma (n) on the walls of the *garbhagriha*.

The *griva* has *koshtas*, and there are Dakshinamurti (s), Vishnu (w), Brahma (n) and Siva (e). The *sikhara* is square but it is now stuccoed over during the recent renovation.

Both the Saptamatrika and Siva temples were in existence in the 10th century.

As in Alambakkam, here is an independent Saptamatrika temple of the early Chola age. The worship of the Saptamatrikas and the existence of separate shrines for them were prevalent in South India as late as the reign of Kulottunga I. At Kolar in the Mysore State, there is a temple of *Kolaramma*, named in the local inscription the *Pidari* of Kuvalalam. An inscription of the second regnal year of Ko-Rajakesari Rajendra Choladeva identical with Kulottunga Chola I (=A.D. 1072 : with *Tirumanni-vilangum* historical introduction) mentions that a Chola royal officer named Virasikhamani Muvendavelar conducted an enquiry into the affairs of the temple and found that the income from the *devadana* lands of the temple fixed in gold (*madai*) had not been utilised for temple services; and on the recommendation of a local committee of enquiry made allotments for offerings to various deities in the temple out of the income, now fixed in kind, of 2,843 and odd *kalams* of paddy in lieu of the payment in gold. The deities mentioned are :- Chamundesvari of the *Mulasthana* (the main deity, the Pidari), Virabhadradevar, Brahmani, Isvari, Vaishnavi, Indrani and Ganapati (of the Saptamatrika group); also other deities, viz, Kshetrapaladeva, Suryadeva (Parivara devatas); also Mahasasta (Ayyanar), Yogini and

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Yogesvarar (for whom intoxicating drinks—*madyapanam*—were to be provided).[42]

Varadaraja temple (*Vishnu*)

Minjur

Minjur is in the Ponneri taluk of the Chingleput district at the 12th mile (19.3 km.) on the road from Tiruvorriyur to Ponneri. The modern *Varadaraja-Perumal* was named in the past *Sola-Kula-Sundara Vinnagar-Alvar*. An inscription of the third year of Madhurantaka (134 of 1916) mentions that this temple was constructed *in this year* by a certain Kesavan Karugaikkon for the God *Alivalakesava*. The Government Epigraphist attributes it to *Madhurantaka Uttama Chola*. Sundara Chola had also the surname of Madhurantaka and though Madhurantaka would apply to both these rulers, I am inclined to attribute it to Sundara Chola because of the inclusion of the name of Sundara as part of the name of the temple.

An inscription of the 4th year of Rajendra I (133 of 1916) registers a gift of land for festivals in this temple. It also mentions another temple in this place called Kalladesvaram Udaiyar temple.

The Vishnu temple of Varadaraja might also have belonged to the days of Sundara Chola.

There are a *Siva* and a *Vishnu* temple here. It is a pity that both of them have been so completely renovated that they have lost their value as historical monuments.

[42]The inscription is incomplete and so does not give us a full picture. Out of the 28 lines of the inscription, a few syllables at the end of each of the lines 1 to 7 and more at the end of line 8 are lost (A.R. no. 131 of 1893; SII, III, pt. II, no. 66).

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5 Aditya II

This is what the Larger Leyden grant says of Aditya II:- "This Lord of kings (Rajendra) i.e. Sundara Chola begot two sons. Aditya (II) (otherwise called *Karikala*) and Rajaraja the head-jewel of the solar race.

"When that *Parantaka* (II—Sundara Chola) *directed his attention to protect the world of Gods* (i.e. *died*?), Aditya (II) justly carried out the protection of the world of *men*. That strong boy (Aditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with Vira Pandya, just as a lion's cub (does) with a rutting, mad elephant proud of its strength.

"When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gandaraditya i.e. king Madhurantaka, he of powerful arms and famous as Mahendra (Indra) protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle."

Aditya II was the elder son of Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II. He distinguished himself in the war with the Pandyas and perhaps won his spurs in the battle of *Chevur*. His heroism in the field is indicated by his being compared to a lion's cub playing sportively with a wild rutting elephant. He assumed the title of *Pandiyan talaikonda* Parakesari. Regarding verse 27, the editor of the Leyden grant translates the passage to imply that Sundara died and Aditya II ruled after his father but the general impression created by the study of all the sources is that Sundara might have survived the tragedy of the murder of his son. If it were so, the use of the expression '*Suraloka paritrana*' instead of 'Divamgate' (in verse 29) is significant. And we will be justified in interpreting the passage that while the father devoted himself to *spiritual welfare*,

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his son carried on the secular affairs of State. Aditya II's inscriptions are found in Tanjavur, South Arcot including Pondicherry and North Arcot and the highest regnal year so far known is *five*. It seems probable that Aditya II was made heir-apparent and co-ruler even during his father's time.

It is likely that it was at this stage that he fell a victim to a conspiracy perhaps inspired by his uncle who coveted the throne for himself. The Kattumannarkoyil (or -kudi) inscription of Rajakesarivarman i.e. Rajaraja I reveals the existence of a plot to cut off the head of this youth of heroic mould in the prime of his life, and the punishment meted out to the conspirators after the accession of Rajaraja I.

By allowing his uncle to fulfil his ambition of being a king and thereby avoiding a civil war, Rajaraja I displayed great political statesmanship and worldly wisdom; and he lived long enough to raise the glory of his dynasty to great heights.

Temples of Aditya II's Time

Inscriptional References

1 *Punjai,* Tanjavur district, *Naltunai Isvaram Udaiyar* temple, (Tiru-nani-Palli-Udaiyar), Madras Epi. Report nos. 180–197 of 1927.

2 *Perungudy*, Tiruchy district, *Agastisvarar temple* (Tirupperumudi Paramesvarar), Madras Epi. Report nos. 392–397 of 1939–40.

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6 Temples of Aditya II's Time

Naltunai Isvavaram
(Tiru-nani-palli Udaiyar temple)

Punjai

Punjai is about six miles (9.65 km.) from Mayuram in the Tanjavur district and it is said to be a *brahmadeya* in *Akkur* nadu.

The oldest inscription in this temple is one of the fourth year of Parakesarivarman who took the Pandya head i.e. Aditya II (192 of 1925). It is found on the walls not of the central shrine but of the subshrine of Chandesvarar. Either the Chandesvarar shrine retains its old character while the central shrine had been rebuilt, or the stones of the old central shrine had been utilised in the construction of this sub-shrine at the time of the renovation of the temple. The oldest inscription on the walls of the central shrine is one of the 22nd year of Rajaraja I (186 of 1925). It mentions a gift of 10 *veli* of land (by the king) for the maintenance of a feeding house named *Arumolidevan* (after Rajaraja I) on condition that the temple and the Assembly of Talachchangadu were each to bear half of the taxes.

Anyhow, this temple can be considered a Pre-Rajaraja I temple whose renovation was completed by him.

The main deity of this temple now called *Nal-Tunai-Isvarar* was known in the past, according to local inscriptions, as *Tiru-nani-Palli Udaiyar*, and the temple seems to have been within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly (*mula-paurshai*) of the neighbouring village of Talachchangadu.

The existence of two other temples in this locality is known from local inscriptions. An inscription of Rajendra I mentions the temple of *Periya Tali Mahadevar* in the southern quarter of the village. The assembly is said to have met in the *Mummudisolar Mandapa*

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(named after Rajaraja I) and decided to pay, on receipt of 50 *kasu* the taxes on two *veli* of land purchased in favour of the temple and agreed to meet the expenses of the *Vaigasi* festival. The Assembly had also received on a promissory note (*kai-eluttu-olai*) a sum of 100 *kalanju* and, in lieu of the interest thereon, agreed to pay the taxes on two *veli* of land belonging to the temple. This decision of the Assembly was ordered to be engraved on the walls of the temple of Tiru-nani-palli Udaiyar (187 of 1925).

Inscriptions of the 3rd and 7th years of Parakesari Rajendra II mention another temple called *Tiruvalangulam Udaiya Mahadevar* in the village (193 and 194 of 1925). These two temples cannot now be traced.

Some lands in *Rajarajanallur,* a hamlet of this village are said to belong to the neighbouring temple of *Kalakala devar* (Yama Samhara murti) at *Tirukkadavur* (modern Tirukkadaiyur near Mayuram) and the executive body of the *Mulaparudai* remitted the taxes.

An inscription of the 14th year of Rajendra I mentions that the Assembly of Talachchangadu agreed to pay the taxes on some temple lands in order to meet the expenses of the daily worship and offerings and of a special festival once a year to the idol of *Rishabhavahana devar* in the temple for securing victory to the king's arms in his expeditions (to the Gangetic region?).

Six persons are said to have lost their *title deeds* of certain lands on the death of their relative and they had to pay 80 *kasu* to obtain a certified copy of the title deed (*tiruk-kavanakkal*). This is recorded in an inscription of the third year of Vira Rajendra deva.

It is said that 10 *veli* of land had been gifted as *archana bhoga* to three Vishnu temples at Talachchangadu under the name of Tiru-jnana Sambandanallur. And in the 12th year of Kulottunga (I?) these were transferred in favour of the shrine of *Udaiya Pillaiyar* (Sambandar) consecrated in the temple at *Tiru-nanipalli.*

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In the 16th year of Vikrama Chola, at the request of the king's daughter and the temple authorities of *Perumparrappuliyur* (Chidambaram) provision was made for growing betel leaves with the help of two gardeners, for the use of the Goddess, and the inscription was ordered to be engraved both in this temple and that at Tiruchchirrambalam.

An inscription of the 2nd year of Rajadhiraja II mentions a gift of money, realised as taxes, on certain shops, for worship and offerings to the idol *Mulaparushai Vinayakapillaiyar* set up in the temple.

Another record of his third year mentions the settlement by the temple authorities of the privileges granted to certain members of the *Anuloma Rathakara castes* including blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters and stone masons.[1]

The Rathakaras are described as the sons of a Mahishya father by a Karani mother.

The following are the means of livelihood laid down for adoption by the *Rathakaras* :-

(1) Architecture
(2) Building coaches and chariots
(3) Erecting *gopurams* of temples with images on them
(4) Preparation of instruments required by the brahmans in their sacrificial ceremonies such as the ladle (sruk)
(5) Building *mandapas,* etc.

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[1] *The Rathakaras.*

There is an inscription dated in the 48th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1118) at Uyyakkondan Tirumalai which relates to the decision of a complicated question of caste and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain *Anuloma* class called *Rathakaras.* These are described as the sons of Mahishyas by Karani women on the strength of previous authorities such as Yagnavalkya, Gautama, Kautilya, Bodhayana and others.

The *bhattas* (learned brahmans) of Rajasraya Chaturvedimangalam defined the *Mahishya* as one born of a Kshatriya father by a Vaisya woman ; and Karani as the daughter of a Vaisya father by a Sudra mother.

(See also a similar decision defining the social status, rights and duties of the Rathakaras of Tiruvarur; 12th century A.D., SII, XVII, no. 603, A.R., no. 558 of 1904).

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Four persons are said to have made a false claim to certain *devadana* lands. To prove the title of the lands to the temple certain members of the *Tiruch-Chula Velaikkarar* sacrificed their lives by plunging into fire. Thereupon, the Assembly (of Talachchangadu) decided that the four individuals should not only surrender the lands in dispute to the temple but pay 200 *kasu* for setting up metallic images of these Saiva servants and that they should make an additional gift of land for worship to these images. Like the *Apattudavigal* of Pandya kings, who were ever ready to make the supreme sacrifice on behalf of their rulers, the *Tiruch-chula Velaikkarar* were Saivite devotees to safeguard the interests of temples and their properties even at the sacrifice of their lives.[2]

The last important inscription is one of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar which mentions that the emperor while he was staying on the banks of the *Krishna Veni* (Krishna river) ordered the remission of certain taxes to the value of 1000 *varahans* of gold in favour of certain important Siva and Vishnu temples situated in the Chola country.

The temple faces the *east*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 24 feet (7.32 m.) side in the exterior and 11 feet 6 inches (3.5 m.) inside. Next, we have an *antarala* extending 2 feet 6 inches (0.55 m.) between the central sanctum and the *ardhamandapa*. The latter measures 17 feet 6 inches (5.32 m.) north to south and 19 ft.

[2]For a similar system in vogue in other areas, see (i) The *Munrukai-Tiru-Velaikkarars* of the Polonnaruva (Pulanari alias Vijayarajapuram in Ceylon) inscription which mentions that the *Datu-bhavana* (relic temple) of the Buddha built by Vijayabahu I was placed under the protection (*arangaval*) of Velaikkarars. Every member of this body was given one veli land for his maintenance (AR 600 of 1912 ; SII, IV, No. 1396). (ii) The inscription at Tiruvalisvaram (in the Pandya country) mentions that the temple built there, its belongings and its priests and servants were placed under the protection of the *Munrukai-Mahasenai* (AR 120 of 1905).

It is said that this body was the most permanent and dependable troop ever ready to defend even with their lives the king and the causes dear to him when the occasion arose.

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(5.8 m.) east to west. This is supported by two central pillars and two pilasters close to the walls on each side of the inner *mandapa*. There are two *dvarapalas* in this *mandapa*.

Another *antarala*, with two doorways north and south, is found connecting the *ardhamandapa* with the *mukhamandapa*. This *ardhamandapa* measures 16 ft. (4.9 m.) by 10 ft. (3.0 m.) and it is supported by four pillars with bulbous capitals.

Next comes the *mukhamandapa* which is perhaps the *Mummudi Solan Mandapa* (187 of 1925) or the *Mummudi Solan Perambalam* (181 of 1925) built by, or at least named after, Rajaraja I. This measures 35 ft. (10.7 m.) by 35 ft. This hall is supported by sixteen pillars. On the north side, we have the *Nataraja mandapa* (or shrine) and in the south there is a gateway.

The *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* have a central figure niche with two short pilasters close to the niche and two tall ones on which rests the *makara torana*.

The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Ganesa, Agastya and Dakshinamurti on the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north.

There are beautiful *makara toranas* over each of the niches with sculptures in the pediment—Kalyanasundara in the torana over the Ganesa niche, Ardhanarisvarar over the Lingodbhavar, Kali (dancing) over the Brahma, and Urdhva Tandava over the Durga niches.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is adorned with *kudus* and with both central and edge scrolls (Pls. 135-141).

Besides these, there are base panels of miniature-sculptures, 64 on the outer sides fixed in the mouldings of the plinth, as in Pullamangai, Nagesvara and Tirukkandiyur temples.

The *griva* and the *sikhara* once of stone but now of brick and stucco are circular. The temple is now under-

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going repairs. During our visit, we impressed upon the trustees the need for preserving the original shape and style of the ancient structure and for avoiding violence to the wonderful sculptures of the temple.

The temple may be said to mark the transition from the temples of Parantaka I to those of Sembiyan Mahadevi (Uttama Chola).

Agastyesvarar temple

(Tirupperumudi Paramesvarar)

Perungudi

The modern Agastyesvarar temple at Perungudi in the Tiruchy district was known in the past according to inscriptions as *Tirupperumudi Paramesvaram.*

On the north wall of the central shrine there is an inscription of the 3rd year of "Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya" who should be identified with Aditya II. It records a gift of land for a lamp to the temple by the wife of *Sembiyan Uratturnattukkon* alias *Mayilan Tindan* of Pudukkudi (392 of 1939-40).

At Kudumiyamalai (Pudukkottai-Tiruchy) there is an inscription of the 32nd year of a Parakesarivarman assignable to Parantaka I which refers to a gift of a lamp by *Avantiva Kova Pallavaraiyar* alias *Mayilan Tindan* of Pudukkudi. It is likely that Sembiyan of Aditya II's record is a member of this family; perhaps the son of the donor of the Kudumiyamalai record.

In the 14th year of a Rajakesarivarman who may be *Sundara* Chola, the same chief Sembiyan Uratturnattukkon *alias* Mayilan Tindan makes a gift of land for various requirements of the temple.

The Agastyesvarar temple should be a monument of the days of Sundara Chola and Aditya II.

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7 Uttama Chola, Madhurantaka

Introduction

Rajakesari Gandaraditya was the son of Parantaka I who ascended the throne after the death of Rajaditya at Takkolam. He is said to have founded a big village after his own name in the region on the north bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon). He is the author of *Tiru-visaippa*. He seems to have had a scholarly and spiritual bent of mind. The epithet applied to him 'Merkirun-darulinadevar' (540 of 1920) would suggest that he perhaps did penance and fasted unto death in order to gain final emancipation from worldly bonds. His son was Madhurantaka Uttama Chola.

The Larger Leyden grant makes only a brief reference to him. He is said to be of powerful arms and famous as Mahendra (Indra) and to have protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle.

The Tiruvalangadu Copper Plates are more explicit. They furnish the following particulars :

"Though requested by his subjects (to occupy the Chola throne) in order to destroy the persistently blinding darkness of the powerful Kali age, Arumoli-devan (the future Rajaraja I), who understood the essence of royal conduct, desired not the kingdom for himself even in his mind, while his paternal uncle coveted his dominions."

Madhurantaka is said to have felt that Arumolidevan was the very incarnation of Vishnu himself, and so installed him heir-apparent, while he Himself bore the burden of ruling the earth.

And verse 71 of the Plates states : "Applying his mind to the devotion of *Sarva* (Siva), utilising his wealth in the act of performing His worship, employing all his retinue in the construction of Houses (Temples)

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for Him, and directing his subjects to regularly perform His festive processions, showing his wrath only in the killing of enemies, and distributing of his riches among various brahmans, king Madhurantaka bore on his broad shoulders the burden of the earth."

The daughter of Malavarayan, the queen of Gandaraditya, and the mother of Uttama Chola was Parantakan Madevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Mahadeviyar. She seems to have lived to a good old age. Widowed early in her life, she led a dedicated life; and for nearly sixty years, she devoted her unrivalled energy and enormous wealth in erecting new temples, renovating old ones and enriching them with costly gifts and large endowments. She founded a new village which is named after her. One of her earliest gifts is made to the temple at Uyyakkondan Tirumalai in the 34th year of Parantaka I (A.D.941), and her building of the temple at Tiruvakkarai of stone is mentioned in an inscription of the 16th year of Rajaraja I (A.D.1001). Her devotion and piety was catching and her noble example was followed by her son, Uttama Chola, his queens, other relatives and by various royal officers and subjects. She is the noblest among the royal ladies who adorned the early Chola age.[1]

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[1]*Sembiyan Mahadevi*

A.R. no. 503 of 1929–30

Valappurnadu—Namakkal taluk, Salem dist.

On the door-jamb (right of the entrance) of the central shrine of the Arapallisvarar temple.

16 year of Parakesarivarman (Uttama Chola): Pirantakan Madevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Madeviyar the mother of Gandan Madhurantaka *alias* Uttama Chola deva deposited 100 *kalanju* of gold with the *urar* of certain specified villages in Kollimalainadu, for meeting the expenses of monthly *sankramanas* in the temple of Tiruvarappalli-Alvar on the Kollimalai, the *urar* agreeing to pay the monthly interest to the *Sabha*.

A.R. no. 251 *of* 1929–30

Taramangalam—Lalgudy taluk, Trichy dist. *Samavedisvarar* temple (On the south wall of the central shrine) In the 15th year Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman (I) a gift of land by purchase made tax-free, is given to the temple of *Parasuramesvarar* at Taramangalam a *brahmadeya* in miguru of Kilar Kottam in Vadagarai—Malanadu by Parantakan Madevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola for a perpetual lamp in the temple and for special sacred bath of the deity on certain specified days of the year.

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Temples of Uttama Chola's Time

Tiruchy District

1. Govindaputtur (Govandaputtur)	Tiru-visayamangai temple M.E.R. nos. 157-194 of 1928-29.
2. Gandaradittam	Sokkanathar temple M.E.R. nos. 195-208 of 1928-29.

Tanjavur District

3. Konerirajapuram	Uma-Mahesvarar temple M.E.R. no. 450 of 1908; nos. 622-662 of 1909; SII, III, nos. 151, 141, 130.
4. Aduturai	Apatsahayesvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 356-370 of 1907.
5. Tirukkodikka (val)	Tirukkotisvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 9-58 of 1930-31.
6. Kuttalam	Cholisvarar temple M.E. R. nos. 477-495 of 1907, nos. 99-107 of 1926.
7. Tirunaraiyur	Siddhisvarasvamin temple M.E.R. nos. 156-190 of 1908; nos. 125-131 of 1932; SII, III, no. 149; SII. V, nos. 512-555.
8. Sembiyan Mahadevi	Sri Kailasanathasvamin temple M.E.R. nos. 479-501 of 1925.
9. Karuntattangudi (Karandai)	Vasishtesvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 42-51 of 1897; SII, V nos. 1405, 1409.
10. Anangur	Agastyesvarar temple

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	M.E.R. nos. 73-78 of 1936.
11. Tiruk-kuruhavur	Velladai-Isvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 424-440 of 1908
12. Tirumananjeri	Arul-vallal-Nayakar temple (Udvahanathasvamin temple) M.E.R. nos. 1-28 of 1924; no. 111 of 1927.
13. Tirumiyachchur	1. Muyarchi-Nadesvarar temple 2. Sakala-Bhuvanesvarar temple (Ilangoyil).
14. Tiruvarur	Tiru-Ara-neri Isvaranar temple (Achalesvarar) M.E.R. no. 571 of 1904, SII, XVII, no. 617.
15. Mayuram	Mayuranathasvamin temple.

South Arcot Disirict

16. Vriddhachalam	Vriddhagirisvarar temple (Palayamalainathar) M.E.R. nos. 132-147 of 1900; nos. 39-92 of 1918 ; nos. 94-102 of 1935; SII, VII, nos. 145-151.
17. Tiru-vennai-nallur	Krpapurisvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 309-324 of 1902;nos.420-512 of 1921.
18. Tiruvakkarai	i. Chandramoulisvarar temple. ii. Sivalokam-Paramasvamigal temple. iii. Varadaraja Perumal (Vishnu Bhattarar). temple.

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	M.E.R. no. 200 of 1904; SII XVII no. 222.

Chingleput District

19. Tiruvadandai	Varaha Perumal temple M.E.R. nos. 258-285 of 1910; no. 12 of 1935.
20. Paramesvaramangalam	Senbakesvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 257-269 of 1912.
21. Vada-Tirumullaivayil	Masilamanisvarar temple M.E.R. nos. 662-684 of 1904.

General

1. The Larger Leyden Copper Plate grant, Epigraphia Indica XXII, no. 34.
2. The Tiruvalangadu Copper Plate grant, SII, III, pt. III, no. 205, pp 383-439.
3. Uyyakkondan Tirumalai (Sembiyan Mahadevi) Madras Epi. Report nos. 95 and 96 of 1892.
4. Vriddhachalam, Madras Epi. Report nos. 47 and 48 of 1918.

(M.E.R. = Madras Epigraphical Report
A.R. = Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy)

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8 Temples of Uttama Chola's Time

Ganga-Jathadharesvarar temple

Govindaputtur (Govanda-puttur)

We have already discussed this temple in the chapter on Parantaka I. This place is situated on the northern bank of the river Kollidam (the Coleroon). It is best approached from Kilappaluvur. From there, it is at a distance of about 23 miles (37 km.) *via* Vikramangalam.

This place has been visited by the *Devaram* hymnists, Appar and Sambandar (7th century A.D.). Appar calls the main deity of this temple the Lord of Tiru-Vijayamangai (Vijayanatesvarar) at Govandaputtur, the place where a cow is said to have attained salvation by worshipping the Lord here. The place is described (stanza 3 of Tirukkuruntogai) as situated on the bank of the *Kollidam*. In stanza 8, he describes how Parthan, son of Pandu, did penance here and gained the Lord's favour. Perhaps the reference is to the obtaining of Pasupatham.

> "Panduvin Mahan *Parthan* pani seydu Vendum
> Varan-kol Visayamangai."

Sambandar describes that the place was situated in a fine grove; he also mentions the tradition of the worship of the Lord of Vijayamangai by a cow (godanam-vali-pada) and by Vedic scholars ('Kulam-nan murai-vediyar-Toludelu-Visayamangai eesay)'.

The *garbhagriha* is 19 feet (5.8 m.) square; it has a central projection covering the central *devakoshta* (7 feet—2.1 m.—long). The *antarala* measures 2½ ft. (o.8 m.) and beyond it, we have the *ardhamandapa* projecting 10 ft. (3.0 m.) forward and a *mukhamandapa* which measures 34 feet (10.3 m.) east to west and 18 ft. (5.5 m.) north to south. The *adhishthana* is 4 feet

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(1.2 m.) high and it has rounded *kumudam*. It is an *eka-tala* structural temple and its *sikhara* is round. The figures of the *devakoshtas* clockwise are : Nataraja, Ganapati (in a new niche cut into the inscribed wall), Dakshinamurti (not of the age of the main temple), Vishnu (on the west), Brahma (with Rishabhantika in a *torana* above its *koshta*), Durga, Bhikshatanar and Kalarimurti (inserted). At the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* are two *dvarapalas*.

The mouldings of the *adhishthana* and the installation of Vishnu in the back niche of the *garbhagriha* would indicate that the starting of the construction of the temple and the building of the *garbhagriha* might have taken place in the period of Parantaka I and completed in the days of Uttama Chola. The presence of an inscription of the 22nd year of a Parakesarivarman who is to be identified as Parantaka I and the prevalence of the name of Parantaka-Chaturvedi-mangalam assigned to this place further corroborate the association of this temple with Parantaka I. The Government Epigraphist (MER 1928-29, p. 73) holds the view : "The mention of the name of the God coupled with the fact that the temple here contains a record of Parantaka I and had to be *rebuilt in stone* even in the time of Uttama Chola indicates the antiquity of the shrine. . . .". This view has to be modified. The temple, at least the *garbhagriha* part of it, must have been built of stone even in the days of Parantaka I and the temple should have received its additions and had its completion in the days of Uttama Chola.

Attention of the readers may be drawn to the structure of the main *vimana* of this temple as well as the original *devakoshta* and *torana* of Durga, which should belong to the age of Parantaka I (Pl. 154) and to the sculpture of Kalarimurti inserted into an improvised niche, cut out of the old inscribed wall of the sanctum belonging to the days of Parantaka I, to receive the new image

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in the days of Uttama Chola (Pl. 156)!

One Ambalavan Paluvuran *alias* Sri Vikrama Cholamarayan seems to have given the finishing touches to the *ardhamandapa,* the construction of the *mukhamandapa,* the *madil* (wall of enclosure) and the *gopuram*[1] (Pls. 149 –161).

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[1]*Important Inscriptions*

1. On the south wall of the central shrine is an inscription of the 10th year (no. 170 of 1929) of Kopparakesari panmar (Uttama chola) which relates to a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Sri-Vijayamangalattu-Mahadevar at Periya Sri-Vanavan-mahadevi-Chaturvedi-mangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the river, by Ambalavan Paluvuran *alias* Sri Vikrama Sola-Marayan who is stated to have been the builder of this temple of stone *(itu-tiruk-karrali-seyvitta)*.

2. On the north wall of the central shrine is an inscription of the 13th year of Kopparakesarivarman (Uttama Chola) (no. 157 of 1929). It refers to an agreement, with penalties for default, by the Siva-brahmanas of Periya-Sri-Vanavan-Madevi-chaturvedimangalam to give and perform regularly certain specified offerings and services to the (new) temple of Sri-Kailasattu-Alvar raised in the village by one Aryan Sankara-Narayanan *alias* Sola Muttaraiyar in lieu of a gift of land.

3. On the north and west walls of the central shrine, there are two inscriptions (i) (no. 164 of 1929) a bi-lingual inscription (in Sanskrit and Tamil) of the 14th year of Uttama Chola and (ii) a Tamil inscription of the 7th year of Rajaraja I.

(i) One Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan of Kuvalalam (Kolar in the present-day Mysore State), a nobleman of the king's council who obtained from the king the title of Vikarama-sola-Maharajan, after the surname of his overlord, is said to have built the temple of Vijayamangalattu Mahadevar of *stone* at Periya-Sri-Vanavan-Mahadevi-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the river. He is said to have made an endowment of the village of Naduvayil and its hamlets for offerings, services and other requirements for worship.

The *donor* is said to have been a member of the fourth caste, and the personification of all good qualities. The king is said to have been pleased with his valour and to have conferred on him the title of *Vikarama-Chola-Maharaja.*

(ii) In continuation of this bilingual inscription, there is inscribed an order of the 7th year of Rajarajadeva (I); the same chief, here called Rajaraja Pallavarayan, fixes, during his camp at Sri-Vijayamangalam, in elaborate detail all the requirements in terms of paddy for feeding 30 *sivayogins* and 20 *brahmanas* daily in the temple :

"Ko-parakesari-Panmarkku yandu 14 avadu udaiyar-Perun tirattu Kuvalalamudaiyan Ambalavan Paluvur-nakkanana Vikrama Sola Maharajanen vadgarai —brahmadeyam Periya—Sri-Vanavan-Mahadevi-Chaturvedi-Mangalattu Sri-Vijayamangalattu-Mahadevar Sri-Vimanam kallal elundarulivittu itu tevarkkuttiru-vamirtukkum tiru vilakkukkum Sri-balikkum tiru-meyppuchchukkum tiruppukaikkum tiru-nandavanappurattukkum tiru-vilakukkum Stapanangalukkum marrum it-tevarkku vendum aradinaikal epperppattana avadukalukkum nan kodutta uravadu. .....".

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Sokkanathar temple

(Sivalogattu Mahadevar)

Gandaradittam

Gandaradittam is a village in the Tiruchy district about three miles (4.83 km.) from Tirumalavadi on the northern bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon). Tiruvaiyaru lies on the opposite southern bank.

It is a town named after Gandaraditya and there is a big irrigation tank near it also named after him.

There are two inscriptions of the 13th and 14th years of a Parakesarivarman on the walls of the modern temple of *Sokka-nathar*. These may be assigned to Uttama Chola. The one of his 14th year mentions that Sembarulan Uttama-niti *alias* Uttama Sola Muvendavelan of Kolikkurumbur (perhaps a royal officer) erected, at Gandaraditta Chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank, a temple to *Sivalokattu Mahadevar* the old name of the modern Sokkanathar temple and that he made a gift of land to the temple.

The local Vishnu temple is referred to only in an inscription of the 37th year of *Tribhuvana Vira devar* (i.e. Kulottunga III); and it makes provision for worship, offerings and lamps to the idols of *Vatapi Nayaka* and *Vatapi Vinayaka Pillaiyar*. Was this Vishnu temple, also a Siva temple in the past, converted later into a Vaishnavite temple?

Umamahesvarar temple

Konerirajapuram

Konerirajapuram is about 13 miles (20.92 km.) on the road from Kumbakonam to Karaikkal. We have to take a branch road at Pudur, 11 miles (7.8 km.) from Kumbakonam. The existence of an ancient Siva temple at Konerirajapuram can be inferred from the *Devaram* hymns of Appar of the 7th century A.D. Appar calls this place *Tirunallam* and the Lord here *Umaikku-nallavan,* "He who is dear to Uma". The present temple is a foundation of Sembiyan Mahadevi

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in memory, and in the name, of her deceased husband built during the reign of her son Uttama Chola.

Local legends say that the temple was called *Bhumisvaram,* as it was believed to have been originally built by *Bhumidevi* under instructions from Mahavishnu. It is said that a king called *Pururavas* had his leprosy cured, and so, as an act of thanksgiving, he gilded the *vimana* of the temple with gold. He also instituted a festival on the fullmoon day of *Vaikasi* (April-May).

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription below some sculptures representing Gandaraditya worshipping the Linga. The text reads as follows :

1. Svasti Sri Gandaraditta devar deviyar Madevadigalar Sri Sembiyan Ma deviya

2. r tammudaiya tirumaganar Sri Madhurantaka devarana Sri Uttama Solan tiru rajyam Seyaada

3. rula nirka t-tammudaiyar *Sri Gandaraditta devar tirunamattal tiru nallam udaiyarkku*

4. *t tirukkarrali elundarulivittu ittiruk karraliyileye tirunallam* udaiyarait-tiruvadit-to-

5. lu kinraraha elundaruli vitta Sri Gandaraditta devar ivar".

"Hail! Prosperity! Madevadigalar *alias* the glorious Sembiyan Madeviyar, queen of Gandaraditya devar, constructed, in the sacred name of her husband, viz. the glorious Gandaraditya devar a stone temple to the Lord (i.e. the God) of *Tirunallam* (at the time) when her illustrious son i.e. the glorious Madhurantaka deva *alias* the glorious Uttama Chola, was graciously ruling. This is the image of the glorious Gandaraditya deva, which was caused to be made in this sacred stone temple in the posture of worshipping the sacred feet of the Lord (the God) of Tirunallam" (Pls. 167–168).

This stone temple should have come into existence sometime before the 3rd year of Uttama Chola and

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been named Gandaradittam as a local inscription refers to a grant of land for a flower garden in that year (635 of 1909). An inscription of the 6th year mentions a grant of land for a perpetual lamp to the shrine of *Adityesvaram udaiyar* in this temple (638 of 1909). There is an important inscription of the 8th year (151st day) of Uttama Chola (635 of 1909) which merits full consideration. It records the deliberations of the Assembly of *Tirunallam*. It mentions that Sembiyan Mahadevi had built the stone temple at Tirunallam, and that she made, in the 3rd year of Uttama Chola, a gift of two *veli* of land with an income of 224 *kalams* of paddy, bought from the Assembly of Tirunallam, for a flower garden called *Gandaradittam* and other gardens (*nandavanappuram*).

In the 7th year (240th day), the king Uttama Chola was camping in the palace at *Pichchankoyil* on the northern side of *Kadambur*. And it was then represented to him by *Parakesari Muvenda-velan,* who was in charge of the affairs of the State that his mother Sembiyan Mahadevi desired to increase the scale of expenses of the God and to provide a feeding house (*sala*) to feed 25 brahmans for the merit of her husband.

Accordingly, the king issued an order that, with effect from his sixth year, the *panchavara* paddy of 600 *kalams* derived from 12 *veli* of land in *Pungudi* (an old *devadana* village of this God, but given to the king) and the *panchavara* paddy of 200 *kalams* derived from 4 *veli* of land in Musittaikkudi (formerly deducted from the income of the God and given over to the king) were to be gifted to the temple.

It was further represented that these additions to the temple-income were still found insufficient, and an additional grant of 12 *veli* of land yielding an income of 1590 *kalams* of paddy in the village of *Ilanalam* in Vennadu, was ordered to be granted as a *devadana* (gift of land to the temple) and *salabhoga* (land-gift

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to a feeding house). A royal order to this effect was issued to the *nadu*.

While the king was in his camp at *Karaik-Kattup-Panaiyur* in his 8th year (143rd day), he was pleased to issue an order foregoing an income of 3 *kalanju* and odd of gold, and 39 *kalams* of *panchavara* paddy due to him from Tirunallam.

The excess income of paddy from the village of Ilanalam was to be used to feed 15 additional brahmans (making the total 40) and to maintain a camphor-lamp and a perpetual lamp.

And finally, in the 8th year (151st day), the king ordered that 2½ *veli* of land out of the 70 *veli* of Tirunallam be made tax free and given over to the enjoyment of the God.

Then the royal officer, in consultation with the *Sabha* (Assembly), made detailed allocations for different items of expenditure according to the revised increased scales and new ones, which were as follows :

Various food offerings to the Gods, sandal paste, incense, lamps, details of expenses in connection with the *Sri-bali* ceremony held on the day of *Jyeshtha,* the natal star of Sembiyan Mahadevi, feeding brahmans and of worshippers during the festivals of *Margali-Tiruvadirai* and *Vaigasi-Visakam;* the wages of persons who prepared the sandal paste, of the servants who held the canopy over the images, of gatherers of flowers and makers of garlands, of servants who swept, and kept clean the sacred precincts of the temple by washing them with cow-dung, of musicians, trumpeters, conch-blowers, watchmen of idols, reciters of *Tirup-padiyam*, the brahmans who attended to the general management of the temple (*Koyil Kariyam*), the temple-accountant (of the *potter caste*), the potter who supplied pots, the dyer who dyed the sacred cloth of the idols, the brahman who carried the water from the Kaveri to the temple for the sacred bath of the God, and the

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official auditor who checked the temple accounts under the orders of the king, temple-repairs, the monthly sacred baths, and ceremonies on eclipses, the removal of screens and canopies, the purificatory ceremony called *Jalapavitra,* the annual renewal of sacred cloths, the astrologer who prepared the calendar (*nalolai*) and declared the astronomical features of every day, the maintenance of gardens and their assistants (including the cost of their clothing) the temple-architect, the carpenter and the blacksmith, special worship for the images of *Tripura Vijayam* (Tripurantakar), *Vrishabha-Vahanar,* and *Ganapatiyar* installed in the temple, their sacred bath with five articles (in milk, curds, butter, sugar and honey), the provision of houses for the temple servants, hymners, priests, musicians, the temple-managers and others.

These items are elaborately described in this inscription. This gives us a glimpse of the part played by temples in the day-to-day life of the people and how they promoted the material and spiritual welfare of the people. What a noble service the temple had played in the past!

As in the case of copper plate grants, this document is attested by the king's councillors (*Karumam arai-kinra adhikarigal*), other royal officers and representatives of local bodies; the person who executed the grant (*anatti*), the revenue officers (*puravu vari*), the royal secretaries (*vaykkelvi*) the accountants (*varip-pottagam*), the engraver of the king's orders (*mugavetti*) etc.

An inscription of the 11th year of Parakesari (Uttama Chola) mentions a gift of land for a lamp and another of the 14th year for offerings to the shrine of Ganapati in the temple of Tirunallam.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a stone figure of one Sattan Gunabhattan *alias* Hara-charana Sekharan of Alattur who caused this stone

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temple to be built under the orders of Udaiya Pirattiyar (i.e. Sembiyan Mahadevi). In appreciation of his services, the title of *Rajakesari Muvendavelan* was conferred on him.

From an inscription on a pillar in the covered verandah round the central shrine, called *tiru-nadai-maligai* in the inscription, we learn that it was built by Arumolidevan *alias* Vayanattaraiyan of Adanur.

The *gopuram* is said to be a gift of Mudalippillai of Vengipuram.

An inscription of the 12th year of Rajaraja I mentions a gift of a silver image of the *God* (Umamahesvarar) and a copper image of *Chandesvarar* by *Nakkan Nallat-tadigal,* a servant of the Velam (palace-harem) and a member of the *Rajaraja-terinja-kaikkolar*. A record of his 15th year mentions a gift of 7 *kasu* for a lamp to the shrine of Adityesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar. Perhaps this refers to the deity of the Sun God set up here.

An inscription of the 5th year of Rajendra I refers to the third year of the king's reign and to a gift by *Alvar Parantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar* who is said to have been then living in the palace at Palaiyaru (near Kum-bakonam– 639 of 1909). She is another member of the family of the early Chola rulers who was equally devot-ed to temple-building activities and to the fostering of charitable endowments. In the 6th year of Rajendra I there is provision made for the singing of *Tiruppa-diyam* in the temple; and an inscription of his 7th year provides for the beating of drums, and the blowing of horns and conches during the early morning service; *Queen Arindavan Mahadevi* set up an image of *Kshetra-pala* in his 17th year (632 of 1909).

The existence in this place of a *Vishnu temple* named after Uttama Chola, *Uttama Chola Vinnagar Alvar,* can be inferred from two inscriptions of the 33rd and 35th years of Rajadhiraja I (655 and 656 of 1909).

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An inscription of the 36th year of Rajadhiraja I (640 of 1909) mentions that the *Sabha* of the village met at the foot of a *tree called Rajendran* on the bank of a canal. The meeting of village assemblies under a tree was an ancient practice of the Tamils and the ascription of a name to the tree is peculiar and interesting. On inauspicious occasions, the assembly met under a local *tamarind* tree.

In an inscription of the 7th year of Rajendra II this temple is called *Madhurantaki Isvaram Udaiyar* (634 of 1909 and 633 also), perhaps named after the daughter of Rajendra I; and in an inscription of his 11th year, the deity is called *Umaikkunallar* (He who is dear to *Uma*) in consonace with the original name in the *Devaram* hymns. According to an inscription of the 47th year of Kulottunga I, the deity is called *Kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar* at Tirunallam.

In the 16th year of Kulottunga III, a gift of land is made to the shrine of *Vinayaka Pillaiyar* set up on the south side of the *Pugalabharana mandapa* in the temple of Tirunallam Udaiyar. A gift of jewels is made to the Goddess in his 17th year.

There is a gift of land for the supply of garlands in the 25th year of Rajaraja III.

Thus, we have a continuous account of the varied activities of the people and gifts by the ruler and the common man for about two centuries and a half.

The temple faces the west. The *garbhagriha* is 20 feet (6.1 m.) square. There is an *antarala* with a grille between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The latter projects 20 feet (6.1 m.) forward.

The basement has plain mouldings. The central *devakoshta* in the east has two short and two tall pilasters surmounted by a *makara-torana*. It has a figure of *Gaja Lakshmi* in the centre.

In the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are *devakoshtas* of *Brahma* in the north, *Lingodbhavar* in

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the east, and *Dakshinamurti* in the south.

In the area covered by the *ardhamandapa* we have sculptures of *Natesa* (with Kali and Rishabharudha with Nandi, Vishnu and *Brahma*), *Ganesa* and *Agastya* on the south side; and *Bhikshatanamurti, Durga* and *Ardhanarisvarar* on the north side (Pls. 162–173).

The present *sikhara* is a later structure. It is eight-sided and curvilinear.

There is a *mukhamandapa* measuring 38 feet 8 inches (10.3 m.) by 33 feet 8 inches (11.9 m.). Perhaps this is the *Pugalabharana mandapa* referred to in an inscription of Kulottunga III.

There is a covered verandah standing on pillars and running all round the *garbhagriha,* the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa*. This is called in the local inscription *Tiru-nadai-maligai.*

This is a fully developed early Chola temple and one of the most well preserved of those that belong to the age of *Uttama Chola*. It is a temple built by Queen Sembiyan Mahadevi in the name of her husband Gandaraditya. It also contains the portraits of the king, the queen and the builder of the temple with their names.

Apart from the Madras Government Museum and the Tanjore Art gallery, the richest and the largest number of bronzes of South India, and among the finest of them all, are found in the temples at Tiruvenkadu and Konerirajapuram. The Bhogesvari at Konerirajapuram is perhaps the earliest Sembiyan bronze (Pl. 173). In the 8th regnal year of Uttama Chola, provision was made for the special worship of Tripuravijayam (Tripurantaka), Rishabhavahanadevar and Ganapati images set up in this temple. In addition, there are two small sized Natarajas (Pls. 169–170) and a Kali. The large size Nataraja and his consort, unique for their size and execution should be assigned to the middle Chola period.

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Aduturai (Ten-Kurangadu-turai)

The temple at Aduturai was in existence in the days of Appar (7th century A.D.) and he has sung a decad in honour of this God at *Ten-Kurangadu-turai* on the southern bank of the *Ponni* (the Kaveri). This deity is said to have been worshipped by the monkey kings Vali and Sugriva.

In inscriptions, the Lord is called *Tiruk-Kurangadu-turai-Mahadevar,* in Tiraimur-nadu on the southern bank of the Kaveri.

An inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Uttama Chola refers to the construction of this temple of stone by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar (357 of 1907). It reads as follows :—

"In the sacred stone temple, which Udaiyapirattiyar Mahadevadigalar *alias* the glorious Sembiyan Mahadeviyar who had obtained in her sacred womb the glorious Madhurantaka deva *alias* the glorious Uttama Chola, had graciously caused to be built to the God (Alvar) at *Tirukkurangaduturai* in Tiraimur *nadu* were, engraved on stone, documents of grants made to the God in former times."

Sembiyan Mahadevi caused this temple at Aduturai to be built of stone and ordered that the old *inscriptions* (*lakshanas*) of former kings which had become old and damaged, be re-engraved on the stone walls of the newly built temple. Among the re-engraved inscriptions is one of the 8th year of Maran Sadaiyan, the Pandyan ruler. We have to be grateful to this worthy royal lady for the keen historical sense displayed by her in preserving for posterity true copies of documents of earlier ages. How we wish that the later generations followed her noble example!

This is an *ekatala* temple. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are spherical. The *garbhagriha* is a square 16 ft. 6 in. (5.1 m.) side. The *antarala* two ft. wide (0.6 m.) connects

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this with the *ardhamandapa* which extends further by 16 ft. (4.9 m.). It is supported by two pillars in the centre with cushion capitals. Two *dvarapalas* adorn its entrance. The plinth has plain *padma* and *kumudam* mouldings. The *devakoshta* figures are Ganesa, Nataraja, Agastya, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Siva and Parvati (Alinginamurti) and Durga.

This is a temple re-built by Sembiyan Mahadevi.

Tirukkottisvarar temple

Tirukkodik-kaval

The temple at Tirukkodikkaval has had a long history from the days of Nandipottaraiyar (III) of the Pallava dynasty, but in the 11th year of a Parakesarivarman who is to be identified with Uttama Chola, it was rebuilt of stone by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar (36 of 1930-31).

It is recorded that before the work of reconstruction of the temple, she caused to be collected all the inscribed stones nearly 26 of them that lay scattered about, and ordered that the old inscriptions be re-inscribed on the walls of the newly built temple, Each of the re-engraved inscriptions is marked as *copy*.

The earliest of these *copied* inscriptions is one of the 19th year of Nandipottariyar (III). It mentions a gift of paddy for a lamp to the God of the temple called here *Sirunangai Isvaram*.

Nandivarman III was followed by Nrpatunga. His queen Vira-Mahadeviyar performed, in the 22nd year of her husband's reign *Hiranyagarbha* and *Tulabhara* ceremonies, and a part of the gold thereof was presented to the Mahadevar at *Tirukkodikka* (the ancient name of this place) for offerings and lamps (38 of 1930-31).

There are four inscriptions of the Pandya ruler Maran Sadaiyan *alias* Varaguna Maharaja. One of them of his 11th year mentions a gift of gold by the Pandya Maharaja himself for lamps to the shrines of

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Sri, Sarasvati and *Ganapati.* These gifts relate to the period of Pandyan penetration into the Chola and Pallava country during their struggle for supremacy.

This region seems to have passed, for a short time, into the hands of the Muttaraiyars as attested by an inscription of the 17th year of Ilango Muttaraiyar the border chief from whom Vijayalaya captured Tanjai and Vallam. Ilango's inscriptions are also found at Niyamam and Koyiladi.

Three inscriptions of an unspecified Parakesarivarman (3rd and 4th years) may belong to Vijayalaya. One of them refers to a sale of land in Kalakkudi by the Assembly of Mahendravarma-Chaturvedimangalam to the temple of Tirukkodikka.

There are six inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman (4th to 15th regnal years). They have to be assigned to Aditya I or Sundara Chola. One of the 13th year is a gift of land by purchase from the Assembly of Tirukkodikka *alias* Kannamangalam to the temple; and it may belong to the days of Aditya I.

The Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II mention that Nandi II was besieged by the other Tamil kings who supported the cause of the pretender to the Pallava throne *Chitramaya* at Nandipuram and that he was rescued by his general Udaya Chandra. That this *Nandipuram* was *Palaiyaru,* the later secondary Chola capital, can be inferred from an inscription of the 15th year of a Rajakesarivarman. This refers to a gift for offerings and lamp by a merchant of *Palaiyaru-Nandipuram,* near Kumbakonam (31 of 1930-31).

Inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I range from his 3rd to his 38th year. One of his 3rd year is a gift of land by Maran Sadaiyan, the name of a Pandyan ruler (11 of 1930-31). The only Pandyan ruler who was the contemporary of Parantaka I was Rajasimha II, the last of the Pandyan rulers of the First Empire. I wonder if Rajasimha II had the surname of Maran

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Sadaiyan; other inscriptions are gifts of land, gold or sheep for offerings and lamps.

Among the original inscriptions (not copies) engraved on the walls of this newly built temple should be mentioned one of the 11th year of Rajaraja I. It refers to the setting up of *Surya deva* in the temple by *Ilaiyan Aditta Pidaran.*

This is a temple rebuilt of stone in the days of Uttama Chola by Sembiyan Mahadevi.

This is an *eka-tala* temple. It has a bulbous *sikhara.* The *garbhagriha* is a square 17 ft. (5. 18 m.) side. The *antarala,* two feet (0.6 m.) wide, connects it with the *ardhamandapa* which projects forward 16 ft. 9 in. (5.1 m.). This is supported by four round pillars with cushion capitals.

The *devakoshta* sculptures are Nataraja, Ganapati, Agastyar, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar (Pls. 174–180).

Kuttalam

Cholisvarar temple

(Uttara-Vedisvarar or Sonnavararivar temple)

There are three temples at Kuttalam in the Tanjavur district and of them, the most important is the *Uttara-vedisvarar* temple or *Uktavedisvarar* whose Tamil equivalent is *Sonnavararivar.* It is now called simply *Cholisvaram.*

The legends say that Parvati once expressed a desire to Siva to have the experience of a regular wedding in the orthodox style. And Siva agreed to do so. Parvati was born as the daughter of Bharata Muni who lived on the banks of the Kaveri. Siva emerged from the Linga of *Turuttiyur* and courted Parvati. To fulfil the old promise, Bharata Muni was made to approach Siva and make the offer of his daughter in marriage to Siva. And the wedding of the divine beings took place as promised by the Lord to Parvati. Hence the

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epithet *Sonnavararivar* ('He who kept his word') applied to the deity of this temple. *Turutti* means an island in the Kaveri in those days. The place where Siva stood was called Uttalam and this name became changed into *Kuttalam* its modern name.

The *Devaram* hymnists Appar and Sundarar have sung this Lord of Tirut-turutti. By a bath in the sacred tank of this temple, Sundarar is said to have been cured of some bodily ailment.

An inscription of the 7th year of Rajaraja I (in 14 fragments) mentions that this temple was constructed by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola (103 of 1926). She is also said to have made gifts of land for offerings, worship, music, and for maintaining 25 brahmans who recited the Talavukara Sama, Taittiriya and Chandogya Sama Veda in the temple.

In later inscriptions, the temple is called that of Sonnavarariyum Mahadevar in Vingunir-tirut-turutti in Tiruvalundur *nadu*.

There are two other later temples here built perhaps in the days of Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga III.

This is a temple re-built by Sembiyan Mahadevi in the days of Uttama Chola.

The temple faces the west. The oldest part of the temple of the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi consists of the *garbhagriha* (21 ft. 8 inches - 6.6 m. - square), the *antarala* (2 ft. 5 in. - 0.80 m. - wide) and the *ardhamandapa* extending 19 ft. 2 in. (5.80 m.). There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

The *antarala* has a diamond-shaped grille.

The three main *devakoshtas* on the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* project forward, and Brahma, Lingodbhavar and Dakshinamurti are installed in them. The other *devakoshta* sculptures on the walls of the *ardhamandapa* are Ardhanarisvarar, Durga and Bhikshatanar on the north, and Nataraja, Ganapati and Agastya on the south. There are *makara-toranas* over

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the niches. One sculpture seems to represent a portrait of Gandaraditya worshipping the Linga.

The pilasters have cushion capitals and square *palagai*. The brackets have roll-ornaments with median bands. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice. The second *tala* is adorned with *salas* and *kutas*. The *griva* and *sikhara* are round. There are a number of *panels of miniature-sculptures*.

This temple, in its main features, resembles the temple at Konerirajapuram (Pls. 181–184).

1. *Siddhanathasvamin temple* (Siddhisvaram Udaiyar)
2. *Nathankoyil* (*Vishnu*)
3. *Nachiyarkoyil* (*Vishnu*)

Tirunaraiyur

Tirunaraiyur is situated about six miles (9.66 km.) south east of Kumbakonam. The place is so called because of the sweet fragrance of flowers growing here in abundance (Narai=sweet smell).

1. *Siddhanathasvamin temple*

The Siva temple here is called the temple of Siddhisvaram Udaiyar or *Siddhinathasvamin* at Tirunaraiyur. Sambandar, the Tamil saint (7th century) has devoted a decad to the Lord of *Siddhisvaram;* also Sundaramurthi of the 9th century. The local legends say that this deity was worshipped by Kubera, the Devas and the Gandharvas, the Vedas, the Sun, Ghorasiddhar, Nara-Narayana and Brahma.

The earliest inscription in this temple is an incomplete one whose beginning is built in; but from the contents, it can be assigned to Uttama Chola. It mentions a gift of 6 *veli* of land by *Sembiyan Mahadeviyar* to the *Siddhisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar;* and it gives details of several items of expenditure to be met from the income of the land: rice for sacred offerings, vegetables, ghee, areca nuts, plantains, sugar, the maintenance of the priest, sacred lamp, the supply of milk, curds,

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fried paddy, requirements of *Jalapavitra* and *Punyaha* ceremonies (purificatory ceremonies) on the twelve *Sankranti* days, and the feeding expenses on festival days (159 of 1908).

The same royal lady makes a gift of silver vessels and a *chauri* (fly whisk) with gold handle to the God in the 2nd year of a Rajakesarivarman, who is to be identified with Rajaraja I (156 of 1908).

An inscription of the 26th year of Rajaraja I makes provision for offerings to *Kankaladevar,* perhaps a metal image set up in the temple. A gift of a lamp to this idol is made in the 3rd year of Rajendra I.

The Siddhisvarar temple is an early Chola temple, reconstructed in the days of Uttama Chola.

The temple faces the west. It is an *ekatala* structure with an *octagonal sikhara.*

The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* 16 ft. 2 in. (4.90 m.) square, the *antarala* 2 ft. 7 in. (0.80 m.) wide and an *ardhamandapa* projecting 15 ft. (4.6 m.) forward. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa.* Further up, there is a *mukhamandapa.*

The plinth has *padma* and *kumudam* mouldings and a *yali* frieze.

The pilasters are 6 ft. (1.8 m.) high. They have cushion capitals and the brackets have roll-ornaments. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice.

The *devakoshta* figures are Durga, Ardhanarisvarar, and Bhikshatanar on the north side of the *ardhamandapa*, Brahma, Lingodbhavar and Dakshinamurti (on the wall of the *garbhagriha*) and Agastya, Nataraja and Ganapati (on the south side of the *ardhamandapa.*)

This temple has a Nataraja bronze of the Sembiyan age (Pl. 185).

2. *Nathan Koyil*

This is an ancient Vishnu temple situated about

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three miles (4.8 km.) south of Kumbakonam. The Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Alvar called the place, *"Nandi pani seyda nagar Nandipura Vinnagaram"*. It means the Vishnu temple of Nandipuram worshipped by *Nandidevar,* the head of the Siva *ganas*. Local legends say that Nandidevar worshipped Vishnu here and gained salvation. It also suggests that this Lord was worshipped by the Pallava king Nandivarman II *alias* Pallava Malla, the contemporary of Tirumangai Alvar.

3. *Nachiyarkoyil*

Another Vishnu temple (at Nachiyarkoyil) lies a few furlongs away from the Siddhisvarasvamin temple. This place is also called Tirunaraiyur *alias* Siddhi-kshetram, Sugandavanam-(kshetram or-giri) and Srinivasa-kshetram. It is considered as one of the twelve important sacred places of the Vaishnavites.

Legends say that *Kochchenganan,* the Chola king of the *Sangam* age, worshipped this lord and obtained divine grace and the sword before he started on his campaigns against the Cheras and the Pandyas.

In answer to the prayers of Madava Munivar, Vishnu's consort was born as his daughter named *Vanchulavalli* (born at the foot of the Vanchula tree) and in due course, Vishnu Himself descended from Vaikuntham to the earth to win her hand. It is in this aspect that *Lord Srinivasa, Naraiyur-Ninra Nambi,* is honoured and worshipped here.

Vishnu is said to have manifested Himself in the *Pancha-Vyuha* forms—Sankarshana in the east, Pradyumna in the south, Aniruadha in the west, Samban *alias* Purushottama in the north, and Vasudeva in the centre. The sculptures of all these deities are found in the *garbhagriha*. There is no separate shrine for the goddess. Her sculpture is also found in the *garbhagriha* called *'Sri Srinivasa Vimanam'*. It is believed that even

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before the incarnation of Vishnu and His consort, there was here a shrine of *Sri Bhuvarahamurti.*

It seems probable that the *Vaikhanasa* form of worship prevailed here and it was replaced by the *Pancharatra* after the days of the reformer Ramanuja.

Tirumangai Alvar (8th century) is closely associated with this place which he calls *Tirunaraiyur-Manimadam,* and he mentions its ancient association with Kochchenganan (Kochcholan), who is credited with the construction of seventy *madakkoyil* to Siva (*entol-Isar*).

The earliest inscription found here is of the 13th century, and from the present structure of the temple it is not possible to recall the original architectural features before its reconstruction.

Kailasanathasvamin temple

Sembiyan Mahadevi

Sembiyan Mahadevi is a village situated six miles (9.7 km.) south east of Kivalur on the Tiruvalur-Nagapattinam road and 3 miles (4.8 km.) south east of Tevur.

The illustrious royal lady Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, built or renovated of stone many a temple in the vast Chola country; and countless were her gifts and endowments to temples. Above all she created a new town named after her, built a new temple and settled here a colony of brahmans. The Parakesari inscriptions ranging from his 12th to his 16th regnal years should be attributed to Uttama Chola. She led a dedicated life after her early widowhood. Her exemplary life of absolute renunciation and spiritual dedication crowned her with glory. Her son and his several queens, and all the members of the royal family including the future Rajaraja I held her in great esteem. They all loved and adored her.

This new village of her creation was colonised by brahmans versed in the four Vedas, *Chaturvedi bhattas;*

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and the administration of the charitable institutions, religious endowments and other gifts connected with this place and the temple was entrusted to a learned body called *Sasana badha Chaturvedi bhatta dana peru-makkal* (496 of 1925). There was also a similar learned body at Srinivasanallur (538 of 1904). Such institutions have gone beyond recall.

Out of the valuable endowments and gifts made by Sembiyan Mahadevi and her daughters-in-law may be mentioned the provision for gifts of lamps, offerings and the sacred bath of the deity on all *Sankranti* days, gifts of a gold forehead plate, and a gold-handled fly-whisk, and the celebration of the birth day of Sembiyan Mahadevi on the day of her natal star *Jyestha* (Kettai) in the month of *Chitrai*.

An inscription of the 3rd year of a Rajakesarivarman who has to be identified with Rajaraja I (497 of 1925) gives us a detailed list of articles—gold pot (weighing 190 *kalanju*), two gold forehead plates (90 *kalanju*) and 26 gold flowers (about 96 *kalanju*) presented by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar.

Provision was made in the 8th year of Rajendra I for offerings and worship to the images of *Ishabha* (Rishabha) - *Vahanadevar* and of Queen *Sembiyan Madevippirattiyar* and of several other images in the temple for which no offerings had hitherto been made (481 of 1925).

Another inscription of Rajendra I mentions a *mandapa* in the temple called *Sembiyan Mahadeviyar Periya mandapam* and the existence at *Moganur*, a western hamlet of the village, of a temple called Adityesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (483 of 1925).

An inscription of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1233) mentions that the Assembly of the village decided to hold their meetings for the conduct of *grama kariyam* (village affairs) and *kadamaik-kariyam* (matters of land revenue) only during the *day time* as the night meetings consumed

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oil in excess of the quantity sanctioned for the lighting of the hall at nights. It was also decided not to re-elect the old members of the Assembly until after five years in order to prevent the rise to power and influence of the ambitious and unscrupulous persons especially in the troubled times of Rajaraja III.

The village of Sembiyan Mahadevi is itself both a symbol of her greatness and a fitting memorial to this noble royal lady, but it is now a deserted village devoid of its ancient grandeur.

The temple faces the east. It is a *dvi-tala* structure with a round *griva* and *sikhara*. The *stupi* is modern.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. 4 in. (5.9 m.) side. A narrow *antarala* (one and a half feet—o.5 m.—wide) connects it with the *ardhamandapa*. This extends 16 ft. (4.9 m.) in front. There are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance. It rests on four round pillars with cushion capitals and brackets with roll-ornament.

The pilasters have *padma*, *palagai* and brackets with roll-ornament. It has a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it.

The *devakoshta* figures are Agastyar, Nataraja and Ganapati (*ardhamandapa* portion), Dakshinamurti, Vishnu (a later substitute for Lingodbhavar) and Brahma (*garbhagriha*) and Ardhanarisvarar, Durga and Bhikshatanar (*ardhamandapa*).

The existence of subshrines could be inferred from the presence of the sculptures of Jyeshtha and a set of Saptamatrikas found in the covered *mandapa* of the temple close to the wall of enclosure (Pls. 186–193).

Vasishtesvarar temple

Karuntat-tangudi (Karandai)

Karuntattangudi (or Karandai) is about 2 miles (3.2 km.) on the eastern outskirts of Tanjavur. And in inscriptions this place is named *Karuntittaikkudi* or *karuvittaikkudi* on the borders of Tanjavur in

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Tanjavur *kurram*. And in the *Devaram* hymns of Sambandar, it is called *Tiruvittagudi*. This temple should have been in existence at least as early as the seventh century A.D.

There are three *Parakesari* inscriptions which have no distinguishing epithets. Perhaps they have to be assigned to Uttama Chola. One of his 10th year (42 of 1897) refers to a gift of a lamp by *Madhurantakan Gandaradittan,* perhaps the son of Uttama Chola who figures as a royal officer engaged in inquiries into temple affairs also in the early years of the reign of Rajaraja I.

Another refers to the installation of the *dvarapalas* on the eastern wall near the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* of the central shrine by Vellatti Arunili Malaypiratti of Palampattinam in Patti nadu (51 of 1897).

The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 ft. (5.5 m.) side. There is a central *koshta* on each of the three sides of the wall of the *garbhagriha* with projecting *panchara* enclosed by two short and two tall pilasters.

It is an *ekatala prasada*. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are circular. They seem to be later structures.

There is an *antarala* (17 inches E. to W. - 0.5 m.) followed by the *ardhamandapa*. The latter projects 16 feet (4.9 m.) forward. This *mandapa* is supported by four pillars with bulbous capital. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to this *mandapa*.

Some of the sculptures in the niches seem to have been later insertions in the available spaces of the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The figures in the niches from the east end of the south wall are the following :—

Sambandar, Nataraja, Appar, Bhikshatanar with the Rishipatnis, *Ganesa, Dakshinamurti,* Agastya, Ardhanarisvarar, *Lingodbhavar* (with Brahma and Vishnu),

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Kankalamurti, Kalyanasundarar, *Brahma,* Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, Kalarimurti (Yama, Linga and Markandeya), Bhikshtanamurti and *Durga* and Subrahmanyar (Pls. 194–202).[2]

Like the temple of Tiruppurambiyam, this is a temple of an earlier age, perhaps of the time of Parantaka I, but a larger number of sculptures than the usual original *five* have been crudely inserted into newly improvised niches made by cuttings into the old outer inscribed walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* causing damage even to the inscriptions. This is likely to have taken place in the period of Uttama Chola, when these additional *devakoshta* sculptures became the fashion of the temples of the *Sembiyan* (*Devi*) style.

Agastisvarar temple

Anangur

Anangur is a village in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district and lies about two miles (3.2 km.) to the east of Tiruvaduturai. It has an ancient temple called Tiru-Agastisvaram. One of the inscriptions on its walls without either the name of the king or the date mentions that Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, constructed this temple of *stone,* and it furnishes details of the number and extent of the *devadana* lands belonging to the temple (75 of 1926).

The temple is also called that of *Tirukkarrali - Mahadevar* (the stone temple of Mahadevar) in an inscription of a later king whose title of Konerimaikondan only is given (73 of 1926).

A gift of a lamp to this temple is mentioned in an inscription of a Parakesarivarman without any distinguishing epithet. Perhaps it may be assigned to Uttama Chola.

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2 Vide Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India—Madras—1957–8—Art and Architecture of Kandiyur—by Mr. P.R. Srinivasan and Lalit Kala No. 5.

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Other gifts were made in the period of Rajaraja I and Vikrama Chola.

This is a temple built of stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi, may be in or before the 10th year of Uttama Chola.

The temple consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* (without grilles). The *devakoshta* images are Dakshinamurti (S), Lingodbhavar (W) and Brahma (N) on the walls of the *garbhagriha;* the images on the *ardhamandapa* are Nataraja, Agastyar and Ganesa on the *south wall,* and Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar on the *north* wall. There are two *dvarapalas* in front of this *mandapa* (Pls. 203 to 214).

Tiruvelladai Isvarar temple

Tirukkuruhavur

Tirukkuruhavur lies about five miles (8.1 km.) from Sirkali in the Tanjavur district on the road to Ten-Tirumullaivayil on the eastern sea coast; on this main road about a mile (1.6 km.) from Edamanal, a branch road to the south leads us to this temple.

The Lord of this place, Tiruvelladai (or Velvidai) Isvarar is sung both by Sambandar (only six of the original 11 stanzas of his hymn are now preserved) and Sundarar.

There are seventeen inscriptions on the walls of this temple. Among them three of a certain Parakesarivarman on the south wall of the central shrine are the oldest, and they have to be assigned to Uttama Chola. One of his 13th regnal year records the building of this temple of stone, the appointment of nine persons for playing music during the *Sri-bali* service, the three *sandhis*, *ardayamam* and *palli-eluchchi* and an endowment of land for their maintenance by Semban Arulan Uttama Nidhi *alias* Uttama Chola Muvendavelan (no. 434 of 1918). The following is an extract from this inscription :—

"Svasti Sri Kopparakesaripanmarkku yandu 13 padinmunravadu Tiruvali nattu Tirukkuruhavurt-

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Tiru Velladai Mahadevarkku Semban Arulan Uttama Nidiyana Uttama Chola Muvendavelan Tirukkarrali-ittu Ittevarkku vaitta Sri-bali Kottakkadava al-onbadu ivvonbadu alungondu trikala munru Sandiyum ardayamamum palli-elucchiyum Kottakkadavargalagavum—ivargalukku seydu kudutta nilamavadu. . . *veliye munru ma mukkani nilam* . . ."

An inscription of the 5th regnal year of Vikrama Chola (later Chola) mentions a *matha* called Tiruchchirrambalamudaiyan and an assembly hall called Rajendra Chola Perambalam in Mummudi Chola Chaturvedimangalam included in Rajadhiraja Valanadu.

The *garbhagriha* is 15 feet square (4.6 m). There is a central projection 6 feet (1.8 m.) long covering each of the *devakoshtas* of the central shrine.

The *adhishthana* is four feet (1.2 m.) high. The *kumudam* moulding is octagonal. There is a *koshtapanchara* between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa;* the latter stretches forward to the east by 12 feet (3.7 m.).

The *devakoshta* sculptures are : Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south; Lingodbhavar (with Brahma in human form) in the west, Brahma, Durga with eight hands, and Vishnu and Mohini in the north.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below and a *yali* frieze above the *kodungai;* there are two *dvarapalas* with two hands at the entrance to the *mukhamandapa.* Close by, there is a sub-shrine for Ganapati (Pls. 215–223).

The temple is an *eka-tala* one and has a round *sikhara*[3].

[3]The Maduvanesvarar or Mullaivanesvarar temple at Tirukkarugavur (or Tirukkalavur) is in *Papanasam* taluk, Tanjavur district. This temple has the following inscriptions —nos. 36 to 46 of 1910 and nos. 393 to 400 of 1961–62.

The Tiru-velladai Isvarar temple at Tirukkuruhavur is situated in the *sirkali* taluk, Tanjavur district. It is also called locally Tirukkadavur. Nos. 424 to 440 of 1918 are the relevant inscriptions of this temple.

Both these temples are wrongly clubbed together by the Epigraphical Depart-

(Contd. on next page)

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Udvahanathaswamin temple
(Arulvallanayakesvarar)

Tirumananjeri

Tirumananjeri is in Mayuram taluk, 13 miles (21 km.) from the town of Mayuram, Tanjavur district, about 3 miles (4.8 km.) from Kuttalam and Tiruvelvikkudi. The Lord *Udvahanathasvamin* of this temple (Arulvallanayakesvarar) is sung both by Appar and Sambandar. The temple should have been originally built of brick.

There are two inscriptions on the south wall of the central shrine of the 4th year of a Parakesarivarman. The first (A.R. no. 11 of 1914) records a gift of a lamp and of 96 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Paramasvamin at Tirumananjeri by a kitchen-maid of the palace (*madaippalli-pendatti*) at Tanjavur. The inscription further states that she made a gift of the stone too on which the inscription was engraved (*ivai vettina kallu onru*). From this we have to infer that the temple must have been in the process of being built of stone.

The other (A.R. no. 14 of 1914) mentions the gift of a plate (*bali-talam*), a trumpet (*kalam*), a hanging lamp (*tungu vilakku*), a bell and an icon for the *Sribali* service (*sri-bali-elundarulum-tirumeniyum*) to the temple of Paramasvamin at Tirumananjeri by a *Soliya-vaniyan* (oil-monger or merchant). It also adds that the stone containing the inscription was also his gift (iv–vettina-kallum ivan-vasam).

(Contd. from previous page)
ment (see page 81 of the list of inscriptions copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras—List compiled up to 31.3.1969).

There is a yet another Siva temple called *Tirukkadavur-Tiruvirattanam*, 13 miles (21 km.) east of Mayuram also in the Tanjavur district. The presiding deity of this temple is Amritaghatesvarar, and is associated with the exploit of Siva subduing Yama in order to protect, and to grant grace to his devotee Markandeya. This deity is called Kalasamharamurti.

About a mile (1.6 km.) to the east of this temple is that of Kadavur—Mayanam whose presiding deity is Brahmapurisvarar.

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Both these inscriptions could, on grounds of paleography, be assigned to the reign of Parantaka I. It seems that the reconstruction of this temple of stone was in progress about the 4th regnal year of Parantaka I.

On the southern wall of the central shrine there is an inscription of the 2nd year of a Rajakesarivarman, to be assignable to Rajaraja I, which mentions a gift by Sembiyan Mahadevi who gave birth to Uttamachola. The Lord of the temple is called *Tirukkarrali-Mahadevar* at Tirumananjeri near Kadalampuri in Kurukkai nadu. She makes a gift of 14 *veli* of land in Mullangudi in Nallarru nadu and allots out of the income thereof paddy for several items of daily expenditure : *tiruchchennadai, tiruvamudu,* maintenance of temple priests and servants, four lamps, ghee, vegetables (*kariamudu*), *adakkayamudu* (betel & nuts), ten *uvachchar* (pipers, drummers and singers), four singers of *Tiruppadiyam* (Devaram hymns), gardeners and sweepers of temple premises. The inscription merely mentions that the temple was a *karrali* (stone temple) and does not specify when it was built and by whom. As in the case of a few temples like those at Kilappaluvur and Govindaputtur, the building of this temple of stone might have started in the days of Parantaka I and completed in the days of Uttama Chola.

In the 6th regnal year of Rajaraja I, at the command of Udaiya Pirattiyar (=Sembiyan Mahadevi) the mother of Uttama Chola, Aruran Kamban *alias* Tirukkarrali Pichchan of Tirumananjeri gave 16 *kalanju* of gold for sandal paste, offerings, cloths and oil (for lamps) to the Mahadevar of Tirumananjeri near the *brahmadeya* of Kadalangudi in Vadagarai Kurukkai nadu.

Another inscription (no. 10 of 1914) which has also to be assigned to Rajaraja I registers that Udaiya

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Pirattiyar in company with Kandadai Nambi and Pichchan Aruran Kamban who built the stone temple at Tirumananjeri fixed in grain the fees every servant of the temple was to receive for the services rendered and for the daily expenses of the temple.

The *garbhagriha* is 18 ft (5.5 m.) square with a central projection. The *adhishthana* is four feet (1.2 m.) high. Its *kumudam* is octagonal. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward by 16 ft (4.9 m.) and its *kumudam* is round. There is a door-way 5 feet (1.5 m.) wide between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* which is 30 feet (9.1 m.) square.

The *devakoshta* figures on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma in the north; and on the southern wall of the *ardhamandapa* are Bhikshatanamurti, Ganapati and Nataraja; while on its northern wall are Adisesha, Durga and Kankalamurti. All these seem to belong to the age of Uttama Chola.

There is a fine bronze of the Kalyanasundarar group (Pl. 234) similar to that at Tiruvelvikkudi (Pl. 248) which has to be assigned to the age of Uttama Chola. There are also a few early Chola bronzes of Ganapati, Pradoshamurti, Chandesvarar and of the Tamil Saint Manikkavasagar. They are of fine workmanship (Pls. 224–237).

1. *Muyarchchinadesvarar (apsidal, main shrine) temple.*
2. *Sakala-Bhuvanesvarar temple (Ilangoyil).*

Tirumiyachchur

Tirumiyachchur is situated 11 miles (17.7 km.) from Mayuram on the road to Tiruvarur and a mile and a half (2.4 km.) from Peralam in the Tanjavur district.

There are two temples here, side by side, both facing the east. The main temple of Muyarchchinadesvarar is apsidal ('*tunganai-madam*' variety), one of the few of this kind in the Chola country : another, which was perhaps rebuilt of stone in the middle Chola

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period, is in Pennagadam[4] in the *nadu-nadu* (the central region) on the road from Toludur to Vriddhachalam : a large number of apsidal temples are however found in Tondai-nadu. To the north of the main temple is another, of the *Ilangoyil* type ('*balalayam*'), housing the image preliminarily consecrated before the main temple came to function. It is generally the practice to demolish the *Ilangoyil* and throw the image into a holy river or tank, after the main temple starts functioning. In some cases, the *ilangoyil* is preserved, a suitable structure is built, and worship continued therein. At Tirumiyachchur, we have one of the rare instances where both the shrines are preserved and worship offered in both. (Tradition has it that Surya worshipped the Lord and the Goddess of this temple mounted on an elephant.)

The deity of the main shrine is sung by Sambandar and that of the *Ilangoyil* by Appar. Appar, in the first

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4(1) Penna(ga)dam is in the South Arcot district, lying about 9 miles (14.5 km.) west of Vriddhachalam. It figures in inscriptions as Pennagadam and as Mudikonda Chola Chaturvedimangalam. There is a local tradition that the Lord of this place was worshipped by a *gandharva* lady *('pen')*, a cow *('a')* and an elephant *('kadam'-'karam')* for attaining their salvation; whence its name. The main deity of the place, now called Pralayakalesvarar, is known in inscriptions as Vada-kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar (234 of 1928–29) and as Tirut-tunganai madam Udaiya Mahadevar (235 of 1928–29).

The *Devaram* hymnist, Appar, has sung a hymn on this Lord, calling Him the 'Light of Tunganai-madam at Kadandai' (*kadam* or Pennagadam). Perhaps in his days (7th century A.D.), the temple was of brick. The present stone structure seems to date from the Middle Chola period, as there are on its walls inscriptions of Rajadhiraja I and Rajendra II.

Both the *garbhagriha* and the *sikhara* of the temple are apsidal in shape—a feature very much in evidence in the Tondaimandalam and rare in other areas. This temple has also another feature not found elsewhere : there are projecting windows at the top or head and the two ends of the apse. In a niche in the southern wall, close to the apse, there is a sculpture of Dakshinamurti (Pl. 261).

In an inscription of the 30th year of Kulottunga (I), it is recorded that at the request of the local village committee, particulars of the lands, acquired by purchase in the 14th, 15th, 21st, 23rd and 24th regnal years of the king and presented for offerings and worship and for the celebration of monthly festivals on the day of *Pusam* for the merit of the king, were to be engraved on the temple walls.

(2) The *sikhara* of the temple of Eluttari-nathesvarar at Innambar in the Tanjavur district is also apsidal.

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stanza of his hymn, specifically mentions the '*torrum koyil*' (the temple-to-be, or the main temple) and the '*tonriya-koyil*' (the temple already in existence or the *Ilangoyil*). Both the *garbhagriha* and the *sikhara* of the main temple are apsidal. The *garbhagriha* is 16 feet (4.9 m.) long from east to west, and the *adhishthana* is 4 feet (1.2 m.) high. It has *padma* and round *kumudam* mouldings. The *devakoshta* figures are Ganapati, Ganga-visarjanamurti and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma, Siva-Uma Alinginamurti, Durga and Rishabantikar in the north.

There is a *koshta-panjara* between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa,* the latter projects forward 12 feet and a half (3.8 m.). There are fine *toranas* over the *devakoshtas,* and a *bhutagana* frieze below and a *yali* frieze above the cornice. On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are panels of miniature-sculptures (Pls. 250–260).

The *Ilangoyil* has a square *garbhagriha,* and an *ardhamandapa.* It is an *eka-tala* structure, with an octagonal *sikhara.*

The building of the apsidal temple of stone seems to belong to the days of Uttama Chola.

1. *Poongoyil or Tirumulanathar or Valmikinathar or Purtridangondar temple*
2. *Thyagarajar* (*Vidi-Vitankar*) *temple*
3. *Paravai - Un - Mandali temple*
4. *Tiru-Araneri Alvar* (*Achalesvarar*) *temple*

Tiruvarur is a town of great antiquity and celebrity. Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar are closely associated with this place. Appar (7th century A.D.) was lost in wonder about the date of its origin and sang a decad in which he describes the various miraculous deeds of Siva and enquiries if the temple had its origin before or after those deeds (Appar's *Tiruthonda-thogai*). So it is believed to be a *city-eternal.*

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It was one of the five secondary capitals of the Chola kings of the Vijayalaya dynasty, and some of the Chola kings are said to have been crowned here.

It is believed to be the home of a legendary Chola king; *Manu-Cholan* who followed the path of Manu and dealt even-handed justice according to the Code of Manu. There was in his palace a *Bell of Justice* which was tolled only in case of injustice done to man or beast. It is said that one day a cow came to the palace and tolled the bell. On enquiry, the king learnt that his own son and heir-apparent had trampled her calf under the wheels of his chariot and killed the calf. Immediately, the king summoned his ministers for advice and to meet the ends of justice he himself drove his chariot over his son and crushed him to death at the very spot where the calf was killed. At once the Lord appeared before him and bestowed His grace on all of them. The echo of this legendary king, whose age or identity cannot now be established, is recorded in a local inscription of the fifth regnal year of the later Chola king Vikramachola. It mentions that a descendant of the minister of Manu-Cholan petitioned to the king that some Saiva devotees should be fed in the house at Tiruvarur traditionally claimed to be owned by that minister's family; and the request was granted (no. 164 of 1894). On the northeastern side of the outer *prakara* of the temple, there are stone sculptures, erected perhaps in the later Chola period, of the chariot, the bell of Justice and the aggrieved cow depicting the legendary story. This legend itself is recorded in an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Parakesari Vikrama Chola inscribed on the north wall of the second *prakara* of this temple (A.R. 164 of 1894; SII, V, no. 456).

Muchukunda Chakravarti is considered to be one of the mythical ancestors of the Chola dynasty. He is said to have helped Indra in his wars against the Asuras,

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and got, as a reward, the idol of Vidi-Vitankar (Thyagaraja) and it was installed in this temple. The shrine of Thyagaraja is by the side of the Mulasthanam. Tiruvarur is one of the *Sapta-Vitanka* temples of South India.[5]

Appar sings a hymn (of ten stanzas) in a rapturous tone on the celebration of the Tiruvadirai festival. Sundaramurti Nayanar is said to have wrought many miracles in this place. The gift of gold given by the Lord at Vriddhachalam was thrown into the Manimuktar river there and recovered by Sundarar from the sacred tank of Kamalalayam at Tiruvarur. Owing to the breach of his promise to Sangiliyar, he lost his eyesight. He recovered one eye at Kanchipuram and the other at Tiruvarur. Siva played the role of a love-messenger and won over Paravai-nachiyar for Sundarar. It was in the hall called *Devasriyan* (later converted in the days of the later Cholas into what is generally called the '1000 pillared hall', though it is not one of this class) that he sang under divine inspiration the famous *Tirut-tondat-togai,* which served as the original source

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[5] *Manu and Muchukunda*

The Tiruvalangadu Copper Plate grant of Rajendra Chola I (A.D.1012 - 1044) gives an elaborate mythological list of his ancestors who are said to belong to all the four *yugas* beginning with the Sun, Manu and Ikshvaku. Muchukunda is included in the list of Kings of the *Krita yuga;* and he is said to be the son of Mandhatri who ruled, for a long time, the earth as far as the Lokaloka mountain supposed to lie beyond the ocean of fresh water. Muchukunda is said to have protected the army of the *Devas* against the forces of powerful demons. Armed with a boon from Indra, he is credited with having consumed to ashes the crafty demon Kalyavana; and thereby he pleased Vishnu.

Dushyanta, his son *Bharata* and the latter's son *Chola* the euponymous name of the founder of this dynasty are assigned to the *Treta yuga.* Another descendant of this dynasty is Chitradavan who is credited with having brought the Kaveri river to his dominions.

Vasu *alias* Uparichara of the *Dvapara yuga* is said to have got a celestial car from Indra.

In the *Kali yuga*, the charter mentions Perunarkilli, Karikala, Kochchenganan (all of the *Sangam* period) and *Vijayalaya* who took *Tanjapuri* (Tanjavur) as beautiful as Alakapuri of Kubera and who, soon after this victory, consecrated the deity of Nisumbhasudani with whose divine grace, he bore, as easily as a garland, the burden of the earth surrounded by the four oceans (SII, III, part III, no. 205).

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for *Sekkilar's Tirut-tondar-Puranam,* popularly known as the *Periya Puranam.*

Tiruvarur is considered as a place where Siva manifested himself as *Prithivi,* one of the five *Bhutas* or elements. The temple, the Kamalalaya tank and the lily-pond are each five acres in extent.

Tiruvarur has the unique distinction of possessing the biggest festival car in India, and the special musical instruments the *kuda-muzha* and the pipe the *baari-nayanam* (the nathasuram).

The temple has three *prakaras,* and including the area of the habitation of the temple servants and of the local residents five *prakaras.*

Paravai-Un-Mandali

This is also an ancient temple. Varuna diverted the waves of the sea to sweep and swallow the city. The Lord of this temple stilled the waves (*paravai*) and saved the city. As the temple was built of brick, it is called *mandali.* This temple is situated near the car-stand. Sundarar has sung a hymn on this Lord.

Tiru-Ara-Neri Alvar (*Achalesvarar*) *temple*

This temple is also very ancient. It is now situated in the second *prakara* of the Thyagaraja temple, and it faces the west. The Lord of this temple is sung by Appar (7th century AD). Naminandi Adigal, one of the sixty-three Nayanmars is said to have kept the temple-lamp burning with water when the supply of oil failed.

The original brick temple was reconstructed of stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi and it consists of the *garbha-griha* and the *ardhamandapa* enclosed by walls.

On the south wall of this temple, there are two inscriptions of Rajaraja I. The first of the second regnal year (no. 570 of 1904) mentions a gift of silver vessels by Udaiyapirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar for the merit of her son Uttama Chola (evidently after his

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death). The other of his seventh regnal year (no. 571 of 1904) mentions that the temple of *Tiru-Araneri-Alvar* was built of stone by Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, and that she set up here two idols Amarasundara devar and his consort and presented 234 *kasu,* for daily requirements, structural additions to the temple and for repairs. Here is an extract :—

"Tiru-Ara-neri Alvar Koyil *Tiruk-Karrali elundarulivitta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar* ikkoyilil tan elundarulivichcha *Amara Sundara Devarkkum Uma Bhattariyarkkum* tiruamudukkum tiru vilakkennaikkum tiruk-karralikkum surru-maligaikkum tiruppalli-kattil mandapattukkum Pudukkup-puram agavum palisaikkittuk kolga enru arulichcheydu vara kattina *kasu* 234 (200 kalanju) konda parisavadu." (no. 571 of 1904).

On the south wall of this temple there are two mutilated inscriptions of the 23rd regnal year of Rajaraja I and the 8th year of Parakesarivarman Rajendra (I). On the west wall of the *mandapa* in front of this temple there are three inscriptions. One of them mentions a gift of gold for a lamp in the 32nd year of Madurai Konda Parakesarivarman (Parantaka I). But its characters are of a later age. It should be a copy of an early inscription engraved later on this wall.

The temple faces the west. It consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukha-mandapa* (enclosed by walls). It has now neither a compound wall nor a *gopuram.*

The *garbhagriha* has central projections. The *adhishthana* is high and has *padmam, kandam,* and round *kumudam* mouldings. The *vimana* is *tri-tala.*

The *devakoshta* figures (clockwise) are : Ardhanarisvarar, Durga, Bhikshatanar; Brahma, Lingodbhavar (east); Dakshinamurti (sculpture covered up), Agastyar and Natarajar (mutilated). In between the *devakoshta-*

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sculptures, there are life-size attendant deities (rishis ?) whose identity remains to be established (Pls.262–276).

Tiru-Ara-neri-alvar temple is an early brick temple rebuilt of stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi.[6]

Mayuranathesvarar temple

Mayuram (Tiru-Mayil-aduturai)

Mayuram (Mayavaram) in the Tanjavur district has an ancient and celebrated Siva temple. The place lies on the main railway line from Madras to Dhanushkodi.

Parvati is said to have taken the form of a peahen and worshipped her Lord and by virtue of her devoted penance regained her original place. The Lord has been sung by Appar and Sambandar (7th century A.D.).

The original brick temple seems to have been reconstructed of stone by Sembiyan Mahadevi (tenth century). In the last century, the Nagarattars have during their renovation completely destroyed all the old structures including the inscriptions on the walls. Fortunately, the old stone sculptures of the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi have been well preserved and reinstated in their respective *devakoshtas*. They are Ganapati, Natarajar, Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, Brahma, Ganga-visarjanamurti, Durga and Bhikshatanar in the north. Here we have a fine set of typical stone sculptures of the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi (Pl. 277).

Vriddhagirisvarar temple

Vriddhachalam

(*Tiru-Mudukunram Udaiyar or Palamalai Nathar*)

Vriddhachalam lies 28 miles (45 km.) from Chidambaram and is one of the 22 sacred Siva temples of the

[6]The Tiruvarur temple-complex had, in the beginning, a good plan, but it has undergone modifications by a fortuitous aggregation of new structures at the hands of later devotees who, in view of its rich associations and hoary antiquity, and yearning for themselves a niche of spiritual merit, erected, indiscriminately and even regardless of any aesthetic taste, various types of new shrines and *mandapas* in all the *prakaras* of the temple.

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nadu-nadu (the central region) of the Tamil land. This place is on the banks of the Manimukta river, a tributary of the northern Vellar which formed the traditional northern boundary of the Chola kingdom. It is believed that the Lord is in the shape of the hill itself. *Vipachit* is a sage who is credited to be the earliest builder of this temple, and after many years of penance, he is said to have gained salvation. His image is kept under the foot of the sacred *Vanni* tree of the temple. Sambandar, Appar (7th century) and Sundarar (9th century A.D.) have paid their adoration to this Lord and sung His glory. Sundarar prayed to the Lord for gold and he got it. Then Sundarar had to go to Tiruvarur. He dropped the gold into the Manimukta river here and recovered it from the sacred tank at Tiruvarur. This is one of Sundarar's miracles. In inscriptions, Vriddhachalam is called *Nerkuppai,* and the Lord *Tirumudukunramudaiyar*.

This early Chola temple was built of stone about the 12th year of Uttama Chola by his mother Sembiyan Mahadevi (47 of 1918). She is said to have built the central shrine (Sri Koyil), the covered verandah (*surralai*) and the shrines for the minor deities. She is also said to have made costly presents to the temple, viz. five copper lamps, one gold diadem weighing about five *kalanju,* one silver salver weighing 389 *kalanju,* one silver kettle weighing 199¾ *kalanju,* two gold flowers weighing 1½ *kalanju*, one gold diadem for the Kuttaperumal (Nataraja, Pl. 279) weighing one *kalanju,* one *wedding-badge* (*tali*) for the Goddess *Umaibhattaraki* weighing 1/2 *kalanju* with three middle pieces, two *talimbam,* one *sari* made of pure gold, one gold plank, the *panchasari* (?) and one gold flower.

An inscription of the 3rd year of Rajaraja I mentions that the residents of *Nerkuppai* (Vriddhachalam) assigned to a private individual the land which they had received from king Uttama Chola himself, as a

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devadana on perpetual tenure, for the supply of sandal paste, *dammar* and the requirements for the sacred bath of the Lord on the *Uttarayana,* the *Dakshinayana,* and the monthly *sankramana* days (no. 57 of 1918).

Again, Sembiyan Mahadevi gave this Lord in the 15th year of Rajaraja I (no. 48 of 1918) a costly crown weighing 9 *kalanju* and odd. The total weight of silver in its lower cover was 206½ *kalanju;* it was set with three rubies (*manikkam*) and 36 diamonds (*vayiram*). To the crown were fastened 1998 round pearls.

In later times various structural additions to the main shrine have been made. There are three big courts (*prakaras*) with walls of enclosure and tall towers with seven storeys, one at the entrance to the second *prakara* which is the oldest, and four towers at the four middle points of the outer walls of enclosure.

The central shrine with the *ardha* and *snapana mandapas* belong to the age of Sembiyan Mahadevi.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. (5.8 m.) wide. There is an *antarala* two and a half feet (0.8 m.) wide, and beyond it there is the *ardhamandapa* extending 10 ft. (3.0 m.) eastwards. Further up, there are gateways on both sides leading to the *mukhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa.* One of these should be the *snapana mandapa* said to have been built by Sembiyan Mahadevi.

The plinth is five ft. (1.5 m.) high. It has *padmam, kandam* and *kumudam* mouldings. There are three projecting *devakoshtas,* with *makara-toranas* above them on the three free sides of the *garbhagriha* and they are occupied by Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma.

The pilasters are 16-sided and have bulbous capitals and brackets having roll-ornament with a central band.

On the outer walls of the *ardhamandapa* there are sculptures of Ganapati and an empty niche on the south and an empty niche, Gangadhara and Ardhanarisvarar on the north. The pilasters here are eight-sided.

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There are *panels of miniature-sculptures* as in Tirukkandiyur, Pullamangai and Punjai.

Above a *bhutagana* frieze, there is the cornice adorned with *kudus* with *Gandharvas* in the centre and with circles at the edges.

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four pillars with cushion capitals. There are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

Above the second *tala* we have the *griva* surmounted with a bulbous *sikhara* and *stupi* (modern). Natarajar and Bhogesvari-bronzes found in this temple are of the Sembiyan age (Pls. 279–280).

Kripapurisvarar temple
(*Tiru-Arut-Turai Udaiya Mahadevar*)

Tiruvennai-nallur

Tiruvennainallur is three miles (4.8 km.) from Gramam and about six miles (9.6 km.) from Tirunamanallur. This place gains its importance from the fact that it was the Lord of this place who intervened and stopped the wedding of the Tamil saint Sundaramurti Nayanar (9th century A.D.) in order to win him over to His side and bestow His grace on him.

The earliest record in this temple seems to be an inscription of the 10th year of a *Parakesarivarman* (429 of 1921) who may be identified with Uttama Chola. It records a gift of land to the temple by Parayitan *Uttama Sola* Marayan of Perumbur, after purchasing it from the Assembly of Tiruvennainallur. It is on account of his surname, that the record has to be assigned to Uttama Chola.

In the niches of the walls of this temple are sculptures of Bhikshatanar and Dakshinamurti on the south, Lingodbhavar on the west and Brahma and Durga on the north.

The temple might have been renovated during the time of Uttama Chola and again in modern times.

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(1) *Chandra Moulisvarar temple*
(2) *Paramasvamigal* (*Sivalokam - Udaiyar*) *temple*
(3) *Varadaraja Perumal temple*

Tiruvakkarai

Tiruvakkarai is a village in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district. We have discussed the Chandra Moulisvarar temple in E.C.A. part I (pp. 193 –5). There are two inscriptions of a certain Rajakesarivarman of the 19th and 26th regnal years on the two sides of the southern entrance of the main shrine which have to be assigned to Aditya I. So we have held that this temple called in the inscriptions on its walls 'Tiruvakkarai-Karrali Perumanadigal' might have been in existence at least from the days of Aditya I.

There is an inscription (A.R. no. 200 of 1904) on the south base of the ruined Siva temple, of the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja I. It records the grant of the village of Manali in Amur nadu, a sub-division of Oyma nadu as a *devadana* to God Paramasvamigal of Sivalokam, the stone temple built by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar. It reads as follows :—

"Sri Gandaraditya devar tam-pirattiyar Sri Uttama Solarait-tiru -vayiru-vaytta Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Madeviyar eduppittarulina Sri Tiruvakkarai Tirukkarrali Sivalokam Udaiya Paramasvamigalukku devadanamaga seyda *ur*".

An inscription at the northern entrance of the first *prakara* of the temple of Chandra-moulisvarar, of the 10th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman who is to be identified with Uttama Chola (no. 170 of 1904) records the decision of the *Perunguri Perumakkal* (the General Assembly) of Tribhuvana Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam evidently christened after the name of the queen of Parantaka I making a gift of land at Aliyur for the maintenance of worship and offerings to the Gods *Karrali Paramasvamin* (Chandra-Moulisvarar) and Vishnu-Bhattarakar (Varadaraja Perumal) and for the appointment of four persons for performing worship

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therein, and for four more for playing music during the *Sribali* service.

The main deity of the Siva temple is called in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I as Mulasthanattu Mahadevar (no. 106 of 1904).

A bilingual (Sanskrit and Tamil) inscription in the west wall of the *mandapa* in front of the local Varadaraja Perumal temple (within the enclosure of the Siva temple of Chandra-Moulisvarar) mentions that the *Kota-Cholaka vimanam* formerly built by Kota-Chola was rebuilt of stone in the second year of Adhi-Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1068–69). This Kota Chola is considered to be a reference to Koch-Cholan or Kochchenganan, a Chola king of the late *Sangam* period, who is credited by Tirumangai Alvar to be the builder of many Siva and Vishnu temples in the Tamil land.

We have evidence of the existence, in addition to the Vakra-kali temple of Pallava times, of two Siva temples and a Vishnu temple at Tiruvakkarai.

Varaha temple

Tiruvidandai (Tiruvida-vendai)

Tiruvidandai is a village in the Chingleput district. It is 26 miles (41.84 km.) from Madras on the way to Mamallapuram. According to local legends, a sage by the name of Galava had 360 daughters and they were offered in marriage to the Lord who appeared before him as a *brahmacharin* of the Kasyapa *gotra*. He agreed and one after the other was given in marriage each day. On the last day the Lord appeared in the form of *Varaha* (boar) and made all the 360 daughters into one person, *Akilavallinachchiyar* and placed her on the left side of Varahamurti (Tiru-ida-vendai : *ida* = left). The Lord (the processional image) came to be known as *Nitya-Kalyana Perumal* and the place as Nitya Kalyanapuri. It was also known by other names, viz. *Sripuri* and *Varahapuri* or *Asura-kula-kalanallur*. The *Vimana* is called Sri *Kalyana vimana*

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or *Yajna-vimana.*

The Lord of this place is said to have granted grace to *Bali* the *asura, Galava* rishi, and Markandeya.

Tirumangai Alvar, the Vaishnavite saint (8th century A.D.) and the contemporary of the Pallava king Nandivarman II has sung a decad on this Lord. There was in this place a mutt called after him the *Kalichchingan matham,* so the temple must have been in existence at least in the 8th century A.D., perhaps even earlier; but the present structure could be assigned only to the 10th and some parts even to the 11th century. In inscriptions, it is called *Tiruvidavendai* in *Paduvur-nadu,* a sub-division of Amur kottam. This is a temple dedicated to Varaha Perumal. Here the Devi is held on the left side of the Lord (Tiru-ida-vendai) while in the Adivaraha temple at Mamallapuram the goddess is on the right side; hence the Lord at Mamallapuram is known as *Tiru-vala vendai* (*vala=right*).

On the north base of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 20th regnal year of Kannaradeva. It mentions a gift of land for a lamp to the temple of Varahadeva where the wife of a certain Alattulan Ranakesari of Paduvur had set up an image of the deity (A.R. 270 of 1910).

There are three inscriptions of a Parakesarivarman *alias* Parthivendravarman who took the head of Vira Pandya. One of them is an inscription of the 6th regnal year of *Parakesari Vendradhivarman.* This is engraved on the *north base* of the Sri *Vimana.* It concerns a gift of 12 *kalanju* of gold for burning a lamp in the Varaha temple by a native of Taiyur *alias* Talaisayanapuram (12 miles – 19.20 km. north-west of Mamallapuram). The *Sabhaiyom* and the *Urom* of this place agreed to supply one *ulakku* of oil every day for its upkeep (SII, III, p. III, no. 180: A.R. no. 269 of 1910).

The prefix *Parakesari* suggests that he was a royal prince enjoying kingly privileges. It is not unlikely

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that he was posted in the northern frontier of the Chola empire for the recovery of those parts lost to the Rashtrakutas after the Chola disaster at Takkolam in A.D. 949; Perhaps he was later made crown-prince enjoying joint-rule with his father Sundara Chola with the title of Aditya II Karikala.

Another inscription also on the *north base* of the central shrine is of the 8th regnal year of Ko-Parthivendradhivarman. It records a gift of 93 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Varahadeva of Tiruvidandai by a native of Taiyur *alias* Talasayanapuram (A.R. 265 of 1910). Another of his 8th year also on the (north) base of the central shrine refers to the idol of Manavalapperumal (Nitya Kalyana Perumal) which two brothers had caused to be cast and set up in the temple of the glorious Varahasvamin at Tiruvidavendai. They made a grant of 15 *kalanju* of gold. The *Sabhaiyom* and the *Urom* of Tiruvidavendai received the gold and agreed to supply every year by way of interest 56 *kadi* of paddy for offerings to the deity (264 of 1910, SII, III, pt III, no. 186). Parthivendravarman's identity is not yet indisputably established. His inscriptions ranging up to his 13th regnal year are found in Chingleput, North and South Arcot districts of Tamil Nadu[7].

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[7]Parthivendradhipativarman was a Chola prince of the pre-Rajaraja I age. He is variously described in his inscriptions as :

1. Parthivendravarman - 5th year - Tirumullaivayil (676 of 1904. SII. III, no. 174).
2. *Parakesari* Vendradhivarman - 6th year - Tiruvidandai (269 of 1910, SII, III, No. 180).
3. *Kovirajamarayar* who took the head of Vira Pandya - 8th year-Tiruvidandai (264 of 1910; SII, III, no. 186).
4. *Partama Maharaja* who took the head of Vira Pandya: Uttaramerur (SII, III, no 152 - AR no. 88 of 1898).
5. Vira Pandyan talai konda Ko Maharaya - 2nd year - Brahmadesam, (AR no. 223 of 1915).
6. *Vira Pandyan talai konda Ko Parthivendradhipanmar* - 13th year - Tirumalpuram - Siva temple (266 of 1906 - SII, III, no. 197).
7. Vira Pandyan Talai konda Parthivendra *Adityaperumanar* - Uttaramerur (38 of 1898 SII, III, no. 158).

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H. Krishna Sastri has stated that "he might have been a prince of the royal family and the viceroy of Tondaimandalam, and Aditya (II) *alias* Karikala appears to have been the actual successor. It seems likely that this royal prince was engaged in the days of Sundara Chola in the efforts to recover the northern part of the Chola Empire which had been conquered and ruled for nearly a quarter of a century by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, who enjoyed the title of Kannaradeva, the conqueror of Kachchi and Tanjai. It is likely that he took an active part also in the war against Vira Pandya and was later made viceroy of Tondaimandalam. Whether he was the same as Aditya II Karikala we do not know. It may be guessed that Sundara Chola made him heir-apparent in A.D 964, christened him Parakesari Aditya II and so was his co-ruler till he was murdered five years later."

The above shrewd inferences seem to be well justified. I would only like to add that in all probability after his viceroyalty in Tondaimandalam he might have been made co-ruler in the latter half of his father Sundara Chola's days.

It is likely that this temple was in existence some time (before A.D. 964) in the days of Sundara Chola (i.e. in the middle of the tenth century A.D.). How much earlier, we are not in a position to say.

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It is not unlikely that all these records relate to the same chief Parthivendradhipativarman though described in different ways.

The names of some of his queens are found mentioned in the inscriptions of Parthivendravarman:

1. Villavan Mahadeviyar - Uttaramerur - Vaikuntha Perumal temple. (SII, II, no. 193 ; A.R. no. 32 of 1898).
2. Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar - Uttaramerur - Sundara Varada Perumal temple. 12th year 32nd day (SII, III - 194; AR 49 of 1898) (SII, III - 195: A.R. 52 of 1898).
3. (Udaiyar) *Deviyar Arumolinangaiyar*-Takkolam, 3rd year (SII, III, no.166: A.R. no. 7 of 1897).
4. *Darmaponnar alias Trailokya Madeviyar* - Kanchi - 12th year and 13th year (A.R. no. 17 of 1921 - 12th year; A.R. no. 18 of 1921 - 13th year; A.R. no. 19 of 1921 - 13th year).

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The next inscription also on the *north base* of the central shrine is one of the 6th year of a Parakesarivarman (268 of 1910) who can be identified with Uttama Chola (A.D. 969–985). It records a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple of Manavalapperumal and the *Urom* agreed to measure out one *ulakku* of oil every day for the maintenance of the lamp (SII, III, pt. III, no. 125).

There are four inscriptions of Rajaraja I. One of his 17th year (A.D.1002) relates to the provision made on the occasion of the birthday of the king for the celebration of a festival lasting seven days from *Avani Sadayam,* his natal star, which included arrangements for the sacred bath and for offerings. Two more inscriptions, one of his 19th year and another of his 29th year, provide for the celebration of the *Panguni Uttiram* and *Masi Makham* festivals.

An inscription of the 35th year of Rajadhiraja I *alias* Vijayarajendra Chola (A.D. 1018–1054) mentions the gift of the village of Tiruvidandai as a *devadana* to the Lord of this temple on his birthday (natal star—*Puram*).

In the 45th year of Kulottunga I (A.D.1070–1120) we know of the existence here of a *matha* named after Tirumangai Alvar - *Kalichchingan-matham* - to which an endowment is made to feed Vaishnavite brahmans on *Amavasya* days.

The temple faces the east and the sea. It is a *dvitala* structure, with a square *griva* and *sikhara* (now renovated). The old *prasada* consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *devakoshtas* have (clock-wise, from the south) Ganapati and Achyuta (Vishnu) in the south; Satya (Vishnu) in the west and Purusha (Vishnu) and Vishnu-Durgai in the north. The *adhishthana* stands on a *upa-pitham* three feet high. The outer walls near the *ardhamandapa* are adorned with *koshta panjaras* (Pls. 281–285). In the

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south-east corner there is a stone sculpture of Varaha in a small sanctum.

This is one of the few Vishnu temples retaining the features of an early Chola stone temple.

The presence of an inscription of the 20th year of Kannaradeva (A.R. 270 of 1910), three inscriptions of Parthivendradhivarman (one of the 6th and two of the 8th years) and one of the 6th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman who is to be identified with Uttama Chola, all of them on the *base of the* central shrine, go to establish the existence of this temple of *stone* in the period before the accession of Rajaraja I (A.D. 985). It is one of the few Vaishnava temples of the early Chola age still in a fair state of preservation.

The Chola rulers of the middle Chola period have also made considerable additions to it in the 11th century.

Senpakesvarar temple

Paramesvara-mangalam

Paramesvaramangalam is a village situated about 15 miles from Madurantakam in the Chingleput district. It lies on the southern bank of Palar river; on its opposite side is situated the village of Vayilur (Vayalur), another place of Pallava celebrity, in whose neighbourhood in the village of Vasuvasamudram were recently discovered some Roman relics like the *amphora* (drinking vessels) and other objects of antiquarian interest.

There is an inscription of the 16th year of the Pallava king Nrpatungavarman on a slab near the Ganesa image outside the Kailasanathar temple at Parames-varamangalam.[8]

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[8] *Kailasanathar temple*

There are two inscriptions on the two sides of this slab. One is of the 15th regnal year (perhaps of Nrpatunga). It records the construction of a shrine to Ganapati and its consecration in the temple of Sailesvarar (Kailasanathar) by a brahman

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On a slab set up near the Vaikuntha Perumal temple, there is an inscription of Krishnadeva Raya, the Vijayanangar ruler of the 16th century.

The temple of Senpakesvarar is situated in the *Nattam* (hamlet) of the village. The walls of this temple contain inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I (3rd, 6th and 9th years—262, 263 and 261 of 1912); of Kulottunga I (year lost—265 of 1912) and of Rajaraja III (260 of 1912).

Paramesvaramangalam had the alternate name of Nigarilisola Chaturvedimangalam (named after a surname of Rajaraja I).

The temple of Senpakesvarar seems to have been a temple rebuilt in the post-Parantaka I period.

The *garbhagriha* is 14 feet and a half square. There is an *ardhamandapa* closely fitted into the central shrine, and it projects 10 feet and a half in front. The *adhishthana* is 3 feet and a half high. It is a *tri-tala* temple. It faces the east.

The *devakoshta* figures (clockwise) are Bhikshatanar, Ganapati and Dakshinamurti (on the southern side) Lingodbhavar with Brahma as Hamsa at the top and Vishnu as Varaha below (on the west) and Brahma, Durga and Harihara (on the northern side).

The additional sculptures of Bhikshatanar and Harihara seem to point out that the temple was rebuilt in the days of Uttama Chola.

In the premises of the temple are found sculptures of Ganapati of the *valampuri* variety and two broken figures of *dvarapalas* — perhaps of the later Pallava age (Pls. 286–290).

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lady who also makes a gift of paddy for lamps and worship (A.R. 258 of 1912). The other of the 16th regnal year of the Pallava king Nrpatunga records a gift of eleven *kalanju* of gold for offerings to the Mahadeva in the temple of Sailesvarar at Paramesvaramangalam. This temple is roofless. Its *adhishthana* is of stone and the superstructure is of brick and so it is a *misra* type of temple built in the days of Nrpatunga.

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Vada-Tirumullaivayil

Vada-Tirumullaivayil is situated about 13 miles (20.92 km.) from Madras city and a mile and a half (2.41km.) from the railway station of Ambattur. The railway station of Avadi is also close by.

This place is called the *northern* Tirumullaivayil to distinguish it from the place of the same name in the South on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, which lies about nine miles east of Sirkali in the Tanjavur district.

Among the *Devaram* hymnists, only Sundarar has sung a hymn of 11 stanzas on the Lord of this temple. It is described as a place surrounded by groves of *champak,* rice fields and splendid mansions and situated on the northern bank of the rivulet *Pali* flowing close by.

The sacred creeper of the Lord is the *mullai.* The origin of the temple and its association with the *mullai* creeper are described in the 10th stanza. It is mentioned that the famous Pallava ruler Tondaiman (perhaps identical with Tondaiman Ilan Tiraiyan, a contemporary of Karikala Chola mentioned in the *Perumpanarruppadai,* a *Sangam* poem attributed to the second century A.D.) once rode along this region, and the feet of his elephant got entangled with the *mullai* creeper of this place; and when the obstacle was removed, the hidden Linga was revealed; the Lord came to be worshipped since then.

Sundarar's hymn alludes to the many miracles of Siva–His divine dance, the overthrow of Gajasura, the destruction of the Tripura asuras, his crushing of Yama (Kalan) and his assuming the form of a pillar of fire defying the search of Brahma and Vishnu who disputed His supremacy.

A few autobiographical details of saint Sundarar's life find mention in this hymn. He describes that the

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Lord won him over to His grace at Tiruvennainallur, that he was punished with the loss of his eye-sight for breaking the vow made to his wife Sangiliyar at Tiruvorriyur. This was the first place of his pilgrimage after the loss of his eye-sight.

Sundarar was the contemporary of Cheraman Perumal Nayanar and both of them are said to have attained divine grace about A.D. 825.

Among the inscriptions found on the walls of the *Srivimana* of this temple, the earliest is one of the 14th regnal year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Uttama Chola (A.R. no. 669 of 1904; SII, III, no. 141). It mentions that Sembiyan Mahadevi, the daughter of Malavarayar, the queen of Gandaraditya Peruman and the mother of Uttama Chola bought 9300 *kuli* of land for 80 *kalanju* of gold from the *Mahasabhai* of Ambattur, in Ambattur nadu, a part of Pulal Kottam and made a gift of it to the temple. The donee agreed to supply daily one *nali* of oil for a lamp to the Mahadevar of Tirumullaivayil. The characters of this inscription are said to be of a later age. But it has to be remembered that it is a foundation inscription perhaps inscribed after the completion of the temple.

There are also two inscriptions of the 5th and the 13th year of Parthivendravarman, a local chief of the Pre-Rajaraja I age, who is credited with the gradual reconquest of the northern parts of the Chola empire lost to the Rashtrakutas after the battle of Takkolam.

The first (SII, III, no. 174) is a fragmentary inscription in archaic Tamil language dated in the 5th regnal year of Parthivendravarman. It mentions the *Sabhaiyom* of the *devadana* village of Kalikesari-chaturvedimangalam which is very probably an alternate name of this village. The Government Epigraphist suggests that Kalikesari may have been an epithet of Parthivendravarman (A.R. E. 1910, p. 117) The Government Epigraphist holds

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that this prince might be different from, and earlier than, the ruler of this time whose records are found in the northern parts of the Chola empire in the latter half of the 10th century. I am disposed to assign even this to one and the same chief of this group (see discussion in the section on Tiruvidandai). This inscription is found on a slab built into the floor of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine.

The other record (SII, III, no. 196) refers to a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadevar at Tirumullaivayil by a native of Chola desa in the 13th regnal year of Parthivendradhipanmar. This inscribed slab is built into the floor of the *mandapa* in front of the Amman (Latamadhyama) shrine.

Perhaps the two gifts mentioned above were made before the rebuilding of this temple of stone, and the inscribed slabs were discarded after the renovation and used in the pavement of the floor of the *mandapa*. They do not seem to have been re-engraved on the stone walls of the newly built temple, as was the usual practice in that age. These two inscriptions may be said to indicate that the gifts mentioned therein were made when the temple was still a brick structure.

Further, the endowment of Sembiyan Mahadevi will indicate that the rebuilding of this temple of stone should be ascribed to the latter part of the reign of Uttama Chola. It might have been completed in the early part of the reign of Rajaraja I.

A pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the main shrine contains two inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I (nos. 677 and 678 of 1904). There are on the walls of this temple inscriptions of the later Cholas also i.e. of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III.

An inscription of the Pandya King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (I), and a few inscriptions of Vijayanagar rulers—Harihara II, Devaraja II, Pratapa Devaraya brother of Devaraya II and Pratapa Malli-

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karjuna Devaraya—are also found in this temple.

The temple faces the east and is *apsidal* in shape, commonly found in Tondaimandalam. The *garbha-griha* measures 19 feet from east to west. The apse is on the west. The *adhishthana* is five feet high and has round *kumudam* mouldings. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 16½ feet. The pilasters of the *garbhagriha* are octagonal; there are *koshta-pancharas* on both sides of the *devakoshtas*. The *vimana* is *tri-tala* and its *sikhara* is apsidal. The *devakoshta* figures (clockwise) are: Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu (a standing figure), Brahma and Durga.

In the centre of the *torana* of Ganapati, there are figures of *Rishis* worshipping a linga; and in the Durga *torana,* there is a figure of Rama with bow and arrow. The *Nandi* shows his back to the *linga,* an unusual feature. The temple has a single *prakara* enclosed by the *madil* (wall of enclosure); there is only one *gopuram* in the temple and that in the southern wall of the *madil.*

North of the *mandapa* there are shrines to house Rishabantikadevar, Natarajar and Bhikshatanar (Pls. 291–296). In the south-west of the *prakara* there is the shrine of Subrahmanyar, one of the *ashta-parivara devatas.*

This is the northernmost of the temples of Sembiyan Mahadevi built some time after the 14th regnal year of Uttama Chola.

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9 Temples of Rajaraja I's Time

1. *Somanatha temple* (Cholendrasimha Isvaram Udaiyar)
2. *Arinjigai Isvaram* (Cholisvaram)

Melpadi

Melpadi is situated 16 miles (25.60 km.) south-west of Chittoor and 6 miles (9.60 km.) north of Tiruvallam on the western bank of the Niva (or Ponni) river. It occupies an important strategic position in respect of the northern border of the Chola dominions. Round about ruled the Banas, the Gangas and the Vaidumbas; and on their attitude and loyalty depended the security of the northern frontier of the Cholas. This place lay on the main road from the Chola to the Rashtrakuta kingdom. And the main road leading from Melpadi to Mysore is mentioned as a boundary of a village that was being gifted according to a copper plate grant of Narasimha II, the Western Ganga ruler. The Karhad plates of Krishna III furnish the following particulars :—

"While my glorious and victorious army is encamped at Melpadi for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for my dependants, of taking possession of the whole property of the Lords of the provinces, and of erecting temples of Kalapriya, Gandamartanda, Krishnesvara etc. 880 years of the *era of the Saka king* having elapsed.... I have granted the village named *Kankam* ... to *Ganganasiva,* a great ascetic versed in all *Sivasiddhantas*" (E.I. IV, p. 290).

Here was an old Chola temple called the *Cholendra Singa Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar* temple. It is now called the Somanathesvarar temple. This temple received a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for a

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perpetual lamp from a royal officer of Rajaraja I in his 14th year. But in the same year (14th year 258th day), there is an inscription with the title of *Konerinmai-kondan* which should be attributed to Rajaraja I (no. 101 of 1921) from which we learn that the name of the city *Merpadi alias Viranarayanapuram* was changed into *Rajasrayapuram* named after a surname of Rajaraja I and gifts of lands in several villages were made to the Mahadeva of the Cholendra-simhesvarar temple constructed by the king. Thus it is clear that *Merpadi* had passed into the hands of the Cholas in the days of Parantaka I, that the city had the name of Viranarayanapuram after a surname of Parantaka I and that later Rajaraja I constructed it of stone.

Further, this temple is mentioned as the northern boundary of the new temple of *Arinjigai Isvarattu Mahadevar* established by Rajaraja I sometime before his 29th year (A.D.1014) as a *pallippadai* (memorial sepulchral temple) built at the place where the mortal remains of Arinjigai devar were buried (86 of 1889 and SII, III, no. 17). Here is the relevant extract :— "Sri Ko *Raja-raja-Rajakesari* varmarana Sri Rajaraja devarkku yandu (20) 9 - avadu Jayangonda Sola mandalattup-Perumbanappadi-Tu-nattu Merpadiyana Rajasraya purattu *Arrurttunjina devarkkup-pallippadaiyaha* Udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevar *eduppittarulina Tiruvarinjisvarattu Mahadevarkku* . . . . . ."(Pl. 300).[1]

Arinjigai or Arinjaya was the grandfather of Rajaraja I and a contemporary record pays him a great tribute as one "who possessed keen intelligence, who was the

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[1](a) Pudi Aditta Pidari is mentioned as the queen of Arinjigai (SII, III, pt. III, p. 257).

(b) At Udaiyargudi, there is an inscription of the 12th year of a Rajakesarivarman, perhaps assignable to Sundara Chola, which mentions a gift of land by Adittan Kodai Pirattiyar who is described as the queen of *Arinjigaivarman who died at Arrur (Arrur Tunjinadevar*, A.R. no. 557 of 1920*)*. This seems to be the earliest reference to the death of Arinjigaivarman at Arrur which is identified with Melpadi.

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beloved (of the Goddess) of Wealth, who was the God of Death to his enemies and whose greatness was accompanied by virtuous character and good qualities". Perhaps he fell fighting in or near this place. No wonder that Rajaraja I wanted to perpetuate his memory by building this memorial to his illustrious ancestor.

1 *Cholendra Simha Isvaram*

This is a *karrali* (stone temple) of two *talas*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 ft. 4 inches (5.9 m.) side, with an *ardhamandapa* 13 ft. (3.97 m.) long in front. There are three niches each flanked by two pilasters. The basement has plain mouldings. There is no *bhutagana* frieze. In the 2nd *tala*, there are a rectangular wagon-roofed *panchara* in the centre (*sala*) and two square *panjaras* having curvilinear *sikharas* at the ends (*kutas*). The *griva*, the *sikhara* and the *stupi* are bulbous in shape. In the *niches* of the *griva*, surmounted by Simha heads, we have Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north.

2 *Arinjigai Isvaram*
(Cholisvaram)

The *garbhagriha* is a square 13 ft. 8 inches (4.17 m.) side. The *ardhamandapa* projects 6 ft. 2 inches (1.88 m.) in front. The plinth has plain mouldings. Below the pilasters, there are figure-panels.

There are three *devakoshtas* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and two more on those of the *ardha-mandapa*. The southern niche of the *ardhamandapa* is now empty. Ganesa should have adorned it. The other niches have Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma and Durga in the north. Each niche has a double *makara-torana*, and in their centre we have fine bas-reliefs. Linga with worshippers and Bhikshatanar in the southern *torana* deserve mention.

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The *griva* and the *sikhara* are of stone and circular in shape. In the niches of the *griva* are Balasubrahmanya in the east, Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south, and Brahma in the north. The western niche is now empty.

The *sikharas* of these two temples resemble those of *Viralur,* of Sokkesvara at Kanchi (of Vijayalaya's age) and of the Kadambur temple on the Melamalai of Narttamalai (of the age of Rajaraja I).

Melpadi is situated on the bank of the river *Nuha* (Niva or Ponni) and the *Arrur* mentioned here should be Melpadi itself on the banks of this river. And *Arrur-Tunjinadevar* is to be identified with *Arinjigai,* the grand-father of Rajaraja I. This *Arrur* is different from *Tondaiman-arrur* where Aditya I or *Kodandarama* is said to have died and where his devoted son Parantaka I built a similar memorial sepulchral temple over the bones of Aditya I.

The Arinjigai Isvaram (modern Cholisvaram) has three inscriptions of the 29th year of Rajaraja I. One of them mentions that the *nagaram* (the Mercantile Corporation) gave 5,136 ½ *kuli* of land, as measured by the standard measure of the village of 18 spans as *devadana iraiyili* (tax-free gift of land to the temple) in order to meet the requirements of the sacred temple, the walls of enclosure, the temple court, the flower garden and the temple environs consisting of streets with houses for the use of the temple-servants (Koyilukkum - Tiruchchurralikkum- Tirumurrattukkum - Tirunandavanattukkum- madavilagattukkum).

The *nagaram* of Melpadi further donated a hamlet (*pidagai*) of their village called *Pulikkunram* (an area not so far assigned as house-sites to individuals, but remained as village-common) for various services to the temple.

It may be of interest to mention that in the days of Rajendra I, its management was in the hands of Lakulisa Pandita, the head of the *Mutt* of the Saivas of the Pasupata sect.

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The Cholendra Simha Isvaram was an earlier temple going back at least to the days of Parantaka I. This was re-built of stone by Rajaraja I and the same ruler built about his 29th regnal year also the Arinjigai Isvaram as a *pallippadai* (Samadi Koyil) temple in honour of his grandfather - *Arrur-Tunjina devar* alias *Arinjigai* (Pls. 299–302).

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10 Historical Survey

In my Early Chola Art Part I, I have surveyed the chief features of the Aditya style. And as I did not notice any really fundamental change in the artistic style during the reigns of the first *three* rulers of the Early Chola period, I have given the chief stylistic features of the first phase of Early Chola Art ending with the reign of Parantaka I (vide pp. 235–259).

Koyil Tevarayanpettai : Matsyapurisvarar temple

Since the publication of Early Chola Art Part I, I was able to visit some more early Chola temples. One is Koyil Tevarayanpettai (E.C.A. I pp 179–183). This temple is much better preserved than I had imagined. The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *devakoshtas* have Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga. There are *koshta-pancharas* on both sides of the *devakoshtas* in the *garbhagriha*. There is an animated frieze of elephants and *yalis* over the cornice (*kodungai*) and a *bhutagana* frieze below it (Suppt. to E.C.A.I, Pls. 1-6).

Turaiyur : Vishamangalesvarar temple

Another temple which, in my opinion, has to be ascribed to the age of Aditya I (though the earliest inscription on the walls of the temple is that of Gandaraditya — no. 158 of 1937–38) is that of Vishamangalesvarar at Turaiyur near Tiruvasi on the northern bank of the Kollidam about 8 miles 7 furlongs (13 km.) from Tiruchy town on the road to Lalgudy. According to the local inscriptions, it is called the temple of the Mulasthanattup Paramesvarar or Tirukadambatturai Udaiya Mahadevar at Tudaiyur.

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The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*. It is an *ekatala* structure with *devakoshta* figures in the *griva* and an octagonal *sikhara*. The most arresting feature of this temple is the installation of deities in the *devakoshtas*, unique even among the temples of Aditya I's age.

There are *Sarasvati*, Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, *Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti*, Brahma and Durga. Sarasvati is found in the temples of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I but so far this is the earliest representation of this theme in a *Chola* temple. The Alinginamurti in the (rear) western niche is also noteworthy. Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in this temple is similar to the *devakoshta* image in the Saptarishisvarar temple at Lalgudy, also of the age of Aditya I (See ECA. I, Pl. 42 and Suppt. to E.C.A. I, Pls. 7 to 15).[1]

Two more Early Chola temples which I was able to visit are Mookesvaram and Tantonrisvaram both at Uraiyur.

Uraiyur : (i) Mookesvaram, (ii) Tantonrisvaram

Uraiyur (Urandai or Kozhi) about a mile west of Tiruchy town was the capital of the Chola kings of the Sangam age, the most famous of them being Tittan, Nedunkilli, Karikalan and Kopperuncholan. In Sanskrit literature this place was known as *Uragapura;* the Greek Geographer called it *Orthura*, and the Periplus *Argaru*. Even after the transfer of the Chola capital to Kaverippattinam, it was still a hallowed place and exercised a spell on the Cholas. It was the home of Pugalchola Nayanar, one of the 63 Tamil Saivite saints. The ancient capital is believed to have been destroyed during one of the periodic floods of the Kaveri. This site was recently excavated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Madras. The discovery

[1]Vide Proceedings of the Seminar on Indian Temple Architecture—The American Academy of Benares, Varanasi, and my article on this temple.

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of some Roman rouletted pottery established maritime and commercial contacts of the Cholas with Rome. A number of potsherds with inscriptions in the Tamil language and 'Dravidi' script were unearthed here. Another find is a dyeing vat of burnt brick which indicates the existence here of a flourishing textile industry.

(*i*) *Mookesvaram*

Here is an ancient temple called Mookesvaram whose main deity is called *Panchavarnesvarar*. This deity is believed to appear before his devotees in different colours at different times (especially to Brahma when he came here for worship). It is believed that all the three kings of the Tamil land — Chera, Chola and Pandya — used to assemble here together and worship the Lord.

On the south wall of the central shrine there is a damaged inscription of the 16th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman, who could be identified with Uttama Chola. It records an endowment of two *ma* of land for the supply of Kaveri water for the sacred bath of the deity Tiruvudaittalai Perumal (as he is called) and for some specific food offerings on the occasion of the *Uttarayana* and *Dakshinayana Sankranti* every year. Owing to frequent renovations, we can hardly recognise the original architectural features of this temple.

(*ii*) *Tantonrisvaram*

About two furlongs to the east of the temple of Mookesvaram, on the road to Tiruchy town is another early Chola temple, Tantonrisvaram by name.

The temple faces the east; it consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The Ardhanarisvarar on the western (rear) *devakoshta*, Brahma in the northern *devakoshta*, Chandesvarar of the *parivara* shrine and the two *dvarapalas* at the entrance are all original sculptures and of good workmanship.

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The installation of Ardhanarisvarar in the rear *devakoshta* seems to indicate that this temple could be assigned to the period of Aditya I (Suppt. to E.C.A.I. Pls. 16-20).

Temples of the Age of Parantaka I

Tiruvaduturai (3rd to 25th year)

The earliest of the Chola temples built in the days of Parantaka I is the Gomuktisvarar (or Masilamanisvarar) temple at Tiruvaduturai.

In an inscription of the second year of a Parakesarivarman, who is to be identified with Parantaka I, a member of the Aditta-panmat-terinja-kaikkolar, a division of the army named after Aditya I, after buying some land from the local assembly, endowed it for the maintenance of a cocoanut grove and a flower garden in favour of the Lord of this temple. Another important donor called Tirukkarralip-Pichchan figures in a number of inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I. In the third year of Parakesarivarman, he makes a gift to hymnists, pipers and carriers of sacred water for the bath of the God. An inscription of the 25*th year* of Parantaka I mentions that this temple was *built by him*. He also makes other gifts in later years. The king Parantaka deva I himself is said to have made in his 38th regnal year a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold for the construction of the temple from the *kudappadai* upwards (no. 143 of 1925). Perhaps the king completed the work begun by Tirukkarralip-Pichchan. Another inscription gives a list of the gold and silver vessels, and of the metallic images of the deities in the temple with their measurements, as furnished later on by Rajaraja I in respect of similar gifts made to the Great Temple at Tanjavur (no. 104 and 117 of 1925). This temple has also the distinction of having portrait-sculptures of donors, devotees and masons and

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of Tirukkarralip-Pichchan who built this temple. This is the earliest epigraphical reference to the setting up of portrait-sculptures in *Chola* times. Other such portrait-sculptures are found at Konerirajapuram and Tiruvisalur (Pls. 43-50).

The original temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa*. The *devakoshta* figures are Ganapati, *Agastyar*, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga. There are *toranas* over the *devakoshtas*. The introduction of Agastyar in the *devakoshta* of this temple marks an important innovation in the early Chola period. The construction of this temple of *stone* is likely to have begun sometime in or before the third regnal year of Parantaka I, and been nearing its completion about his 25th regnal year (A.D. 932) when Karrali-Pichchan claims to be its builder and perhaps the final consecration took place in or after his 38th regnal year (A.D. 945).

Tiruvamattur (3rd year)

This temple is likely to have been built before the third year of Parantaka I (A.D.910).

The temple has a square *garbhagriha* resting on a high plinth. The *antarala* connects the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* and another the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. There is a later *mahamandapa*.

The *devakoshtas* project from the main walls of the *garbhagriha*. Among the niche-figures, *Bhikshatanar* in the southern niche (*ardhamandapa*) deserves mention. The other *koshtas* have the usual figures of Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga.

Allur (6th year)

Allur is six miles (9.7 km.) from Tiruchy on the road to Karur. There are, in this place, two temples of the days of Parantaka I. One of them is near the main road itself known as Panchanadisvaram. It was

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known in the past as that of *Tiru-Vadagudi-Parameśvarar*. The earliest inscription in the temple is one of the 6th year of Parantaka I. This foundation of Parantaka I's days seems to have been remodelled during the reign of Rajaraja I and in subsequent years.

The other temple of Pasupatisvaram is found in a cocoanut grove about two miles south of the main road. It is also a foundation of the period of Parantaka I. This is an *eka-tala-karrali*. It consists of a square *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The original *dvarapalas* are found at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. The *sikhara* is bulbous and though heavily stuccoed, it seems to be of stone. The *devakoshta* images are missing, but the original but mutilated image of Dakshinamurti lies under the shade of a mango tree close by. Four old sculptures of Bhikshatanar, Chandesvarar Karttikeya and Surya are found in the *mukhamandapa;* except the first, the others may be figures of the sub-shrines (*parivaradevatas*).

Somur (6th year)

Somur is in the present Karur taluk of Tiruchy district. Formerly, it formed part of the *Kongu* country. Aditya I is said to have conquered and annexed it to the Chola kingdom. Here is a temple of the time of Parantaka I as it has an inscription of the 6th year of a Parakesarivarman which could be assigned to Parantaka I (no. 208 of 1917).

Pullamangai (near Pasupatikoyil) (3rd to 6th year).

The *Brahmapurisvarar* temple, called in the past the temple of *Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadevar* at Pullamangai is the best and the most well-preserved among the temples of the days of Parantaka I.

The temple might have existed as a *brick* structure during the period of the *Devaram* hymnists (7th century) but it must have been converted into a stone

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temple in the early years of Parantaka I. An inscription of the third year of a Parakesarivarman mentions that the village assembly met in the *mandapa* in front of the temple of *Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar* and made a grant to the temple of *Kala Pidariar* at Naduvirchcheri.

The temple faces the east. It is a *tri-tala* structure. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are the oldest parts of the temple. The plinth has several mouldings, *kumudam, kandam, kapotam* with a *yali* frieze above. There are five *devakoshtas* housing Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga. Each niche has a *torana* above it. The cornice is adorned with *kudus* at the edges and with scroll work in the centre and at the ends. At the base of the *pancharas* and below the pilasters, there are fine panels of miniature-sculptures. Between the *devakoshtas* there are *pancharas* in two *talas*.

There are two storeys over the *garbhagriha,* and these are adorned with miniature shrines, *salas* and *kutas*.

Above the third *tala,* we have the *griva*. There are *koshtas* with figure-niches crowned with *kudus* having *simha* heads. The *sikhara* and the *stupi* are four-sided and curvilinear, though covered heavily with recent stucco-work.

There are panels of *miniature-sculptures* on the base of the temple — about 65 in number — depicting *Gajasura*-Samharamurti, Kalarimurti, Andakasura, Varaha-Vishnu, the Tandava figure of Siva etc. which are almost unsurpassed in the field of delicate miniature plastic art. Like the sculptures of the Nagesvarar, the Kilur, the Punjai and the Muvarkoyil temples, this holds the pride of place in the field of plastic art of the 10th century (Pls. 32-42).

Kilappaluvur (10th year)

The temple of Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadevar at Kilappaluvur is a foundation of the days of Parantaka I.

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For a discussion of this temple please see the section further below dealing with Barrett's view on this subject.

Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai (10th year)

The Ujjivanathar temple at Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai 3 miles (4.82 km.) west of Tiruchy was known in the past as the temple of Tirukkarrali Paramesvarar at Nandipura-mangalam. This temple should have come into existence before the 10th year of Parantaka I when a gift of sheep for a lamp to this deity is recorded (470 of 1908).

Nangavaram (about the 10th year)

Nangavaram is 15 miles (24 km.) north-east of Tiruchy. The place was known in the past as *Nangai-brahmadeyam* alias *Arinjigai-Chaturvedimangalam* named after Arinjigai, a son of Parantaka I; and the deity of the Siva temple was called Maravanisvarattup-Peruman; perhaps it was consecrated by a Paluvet-taraiyar chief of Paluvur.

An inscription of the 10*th year of a Parakesarivarman* (337 of 1903) mentions one *Solap-Perundeviyar* alias *Peru-Nangai,* the wife of *Sembiyan Irukkuvel* alias *Pudi-Parantakan,* who makes a lavish endowment of 1080 *kalanju* of gold to this deity, on her birthday when there was a solar eclipse, for food offerings, a festival and worship. This chief Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Paratakan claims in an inscription of the 11th year of Parakesarivarman (359 of 1903) at *Andanallur* to have built of stone the temple of Tiru-Alandurai Peru-manadigal at Andanallur. We have identified this Para-kesarivarman of the Andanallur inscription with Paran-taka I. Therefore, this inscription of Parakesarivarman at Nangavaram should also be attributed to Parantaka I. It will thus be clear that the Siva temple at Nangava-ram was in existence sometime before the 10th year of Parantaka I.

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The *devakoshtas* had Vinadhara Dakshinamurti now placed in the subshrine of the Saptamatrikas, *Vishnu* in the west and a standing Brahma of fine workmanship in the north (broken into two pieces, lying loose on the ground). The Brahma image is now in a Bombay museum.

The *sikhara* and the *stupi* are circular but newly plastered.

There are subshrines of the Saptamatrikas (a rectangular structure), of Ganesa (apsidal) and of two more with circular *sikharas* housing Subrahmanyar and *Mahalakshmi* (in the place of the original Jyesthadevi).

In this place, there is also an early Chola Pidari temple called *Pidariyar Sattanur Nangai* at *Arinjigaichaturvedimangalam* according to an inscription of *Madiraikonda Parakesari* i.e., Parantaka I. Its date is lost. Another inscription of a Rajakesarivarman, perhaps, Sundara Chola mentions a body called *Kaliganattar* who were in charge of the administration of the affairs of this temple. This temple has undergone renovation at a later date.

Both the *Siva* and the *Pidari* temples of Nangavaram were in existence from the days of Parantaka I.

Tirumalpuram and *Govindapadi* (12th to 41st years)

Tirumalpuram known as *Tirumalperu* in the past is about seven miles (11.26 km.) from Kanchi on the road to Arakonam. There is a Siva temple here called Manikanthesvaram. It had an inscription of the 37th year of Parantaka I (no. 298 of 1906) and another of the 14th year of Uttama Chola. The latter inscription is of great value as it gives Aditya I the title of *Tondaiman-Arrur-Tunjina Udaiyar or Devar*. This temple has undergone renovation and all its old features and the valuable inscriptions have been destroyed.

Govindapadi

The Vishnu temple called Ninrarulina-Perumal at

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Govindapadi, an eastern suburb of Tirumalpuram contained records of Parantaka I from his 12th to his 41st years. Parantaka I's son Uttama Sili and two of his queens had made gifts to this deity. An idol of Manavalapperumal was set up here in the days of Uttama Chola. This Vishnu temple is no longer in existence. Only a few stone slabs and broken images round about mark the spot of an ancient venerated temple.

Tirukkoyilur (13th year)

Tirukkoyilur on the southern bank of the *Pennai* (South Pennar) is 23 miles (37 km.) west of Villupuram. *Tirukkovalur* (or Koval) was the capital of the Malaiyamans of "Maladu 2000" villages of the Sangam age. There are two early Chola temples here, one of Vishnu and another of *Siva.*

The Vishnu temple is associated with the early Alvars, and the Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Alvar (8th century A.D.) has sung hymns on Tiru-Idaik-Kali-Alvar at Kovalur. This temple was renovated by a local chief in the middle of the 11th century A.D.

The Siva temple, situated on the south bank of the *Pennai* at Kilur, a suburb of Tirukkoyilur, is equally old and sacred. This place, according to local legends, is supposed to be one of the *Virattana-Kshetras* where Siva is supposed to have overcome Andhakasura.

This temple seems to have been in existence in Pallava times, as there are inscriptions of Nandivarman III and Nrpatunga.

The earliest Chola inscription in this temple is one of the fifth year of a Parakesarivarman which should be assigned to Vijayalaya; but the present structure seems to belong to the Parantaka period. There is an inscription of his 13th year which makes an endowment for the celebration of the *Chaitra* festival.

The temple faces the west. The basement is five

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feet (1.5 m.) high. It has *padma* mouldings and a *yali* frieze. The main temple measures 48 feet (14.6 m.) from west to east and 21 ft. 8 in (6.6 m.) from north to south. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 21 ft. 6 in. (6.5 m.) from the *garbhagriha*. There are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance. Above the *yali* frieze and below the pilasters of the main shrine there are 48 panels of miniature-sculptures. The cornice is adorned with *kudus* having human and *yali* heads as insets. Circles adorn the edges of the cornice. Brahma and Lingodbhavar can be considered as the *devakoshta*-sculptures of the original temple. There are sub-shrines for Ganesa, Subrahmanyar, Surya, and the Saptamatrikas.

There is a sculpture of Durga of good workmanship placed now loosely in the northern *prakara*. It may be of the late Pallava or early Chola age.

Tiruchchennampundi (14th year)

This is a village on the south bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon) formerly a suburb of *Tiruppernagar* alias *Koviladi*. During the period of the Pallavas, there was in this place a Siva temple built of brick. The deity was called *Tiruchchadai-mudi Udaiya Mahadevar* in Tiruchchadaimudi, the northern hamlet of Tirupper (nagar) included in Tenkarai Idaiyarru *nadu*. Nrpatunga's inscriptions are found on pillars in front of the temple.

Parantaka's inscriptions (14th to 37th years) are found on the walls of the temple. So the Pallava brick temple should have been built of stone in the days of Parantaka I or perhaps even in the days of Aditya I as a stone sculpture of Ardhanarisvarar, a *devakoshta* figure generally associated with temples of Aditya I's age, was recovered here (E.C.A. I, Pl. 2b). It may be assigned to the ninth century A.D. It is now housed in the Madras Government Museum. But this temple has since been converted into a Pidari temple.

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Andanallur (14th year)

This village lies 7 miles 3 furlongs (12 km.) on the road from Tiruchy to Karur. According to inscriptions, the deity is called *Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar* at Andavanallur, its ancient name.

This temple is said to have been built by *Sembiyan Irukkuvel* alias *Pudi Parantakan* and a number of gifts are made by two of his queens. This chief figures in inscriptions of a Parakesarivarman from his 10th year to his 18th year. And the transaction of his gift of land to this temple was finally completed in the 25th year of Parakesari. All these Parakesari inscriptions even without the title of *Maduraikonda* should be attributed only to Parantaka I. This identification is confirmed by an inscription of the 15th year of Parakesari which mentions a gift of *Kannaradeva,* brother of Parantaka I (another son of Aditya I). [2]

This is a *dvi-tala* structure. The basement has plain mouldings. The *sikhara* is circular.

Tiruvandarkoyil (15th year)

This village lies 11 miles (17.7 km.) from Villupuram on the road to Pondicherry (Puduchcheri). Here is an early Chola temple. Sambandar (7th century A.D.) has a decad of hymns and he calls the deity *Vadugur Adigal*. And the place was also called *Vadugur*.

The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are the oldest

2.(a) The temple of Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar (Vata-tirthanathar) at Andanallur was built of *stone* and consecrated (the ceremony of *Jalasamprokshanam* performed) in the 14th regnal year of Parakesarivarman to be identified with Parantaka I (A.D. 921) by Sembiyan Irukkuvel *alias* Pudi Parantakan. This inscription is attributed wrongly in my opinion to Uttama Chola; and the chief *Pudi Parantakan* also wrongly identified with Parantakan, son of Bhuti Vikramakesari of the Muvarkoyil inscription of Kodumbalur.

(SIII, III, part III, no. 139; A.R. no. 358 of 1903 and Madras Epigraphical Report 1908, p 91).

(b) K.A.N. Sastri attributes an inscription of the 14th year of Parakesari (no. 358 of 1903) to Uttama Chola (The Colas, Vol. I, p. 471 — Ist edition). This seems to relate only to Parantaka I.

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parts of the temple. The big *mandapa* in front is a later addition.

There is a fragmentary inscription of the 5th year of a *Rajakesarivarman*. The script is early enough to be ascribed to Aditya I. But the structure of the central shrine seems to belong to the period of Parantaka I. There are three inscriptions of Parantaka I, the earliest of which is one of his 15th year.

There are six *devakoshtas,* three on each side in the outer walls of the *ardhamandapa*. Bhikshatanar and Durga seem to belong to the original temple. Ganesa is too small for the niche. Perhaps it was the image of the *Parivara Devata* subshrine. Ardhanarisvarar and Rishabhavahana devar are the other figures of these niches. Were these added during the days of Uttama Chola?

Tiruvorriyur (*Adhipuri*) (20th year)

The *Mahadeva Bhattarar* temple at Tiruvorriyur seems to be a temple of the Pallava times. There are inscriptions of Nandivarman III and of Aparajita.

Tiruvorriyur appears to have been annexed to the Chola empire only in the days of Parantaka I and it seems also to have been the effective northern limit of his empire. Though there is mention of an attempt at the conquest of Sitpuli (Madanapalli region) and Nellore, they seem to have reverted to their independence soon after. There are Parantaka I's inscriptions (from his 20th to his 35th years in this temple) but they are inscribed on pillars or slabs built into the pavement. Further, we have an inscription of Rajendra I in whose time, the *vimana* of Devesa at Adhipuri was rebuilt of fine black stone as a *tri-tala* temple. The present structure is that of the time of *Rajendra* I.

Erumbur (28th year)

Erumbur lies 14 miles (22.5 km.) from Chidambaram

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on the road to Vriddhachalam. It has a small but a very important dated temple of Parantaka I's days of more than common interest. This stone temple was completed in the 28th year of Parantaka I.

This is an *eka-tala karrali*. The original temple should have included the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, the eight sub-shrines for the *Parivara-devatas*, the *madil* and the *gopura* too perhaps. The subshrines are now not in existence. Perhaps, the image of Bhairavar now lying in the *mukhamandapa* was a deity of the subshrine. The *devakoshtas* have *Dakshinamurti*, *Arunachalesvarar* (Siva as Mahayogi before Kamadahanam) and *Brahma*. These niche-images are of exquisite workmanship and should be included among the finest specimens of early Chola art of Parantaka I's age. What is specially significant and noteworthy about them is that they could be definitely dated A.D. 935 (Pls. 71-76).

Tirunamanallur (*or Tirunavalur*) (28th year)

This village is on the northern bank of the Gadilam half a mile (0.80 km.) east on the road (to Cuddalore) from the Madras Trunk Road (113th mile). It is sacred to the Tamils as the birth place of the Saint Sundarar.

An inscription of the 32nd year of Parantaka I mentions a Vishnu temple called that of *Tiru-merrali Maha Vishnu*. This is not to be traced now.

The temple of Bhaktajanesvarar is referred to in a 17th year inscription of Parantaka I as the *Tiruttondisvarattu-devar koyil* at Tirunavalur. Another of his 28th year records that it was constructed of stone by *Rajadityadevar*, the eldest son of Parantaka I.

Hence the temple came to be called *Rajaditya-Isvaram* even from the 29th year of Parantaka I. A large number of gifts and endowments to the temple were made by the retinue and a number of officers and soldiers of the regiment of Pillaiyar *Rajaditya*

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almost all of them Malayalis belonging to the military station of (*Mouli-*) *Gramam*. The set-back to Chola rule in this area is indicated by the issue of a grant in *Saka* 875 (A.D. 953) by a chief Munayadaraiyan Kulamanikka Raman Devan who does not recognise any overlord.

There are also a few metals of high artistic merit, a Bhikshatanar (Pl. 70), a set of Sundaramurti and his two consorts and another metal of either Siva or a portrait of the local chief, the patron of Saint Sundaramurti.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 15 ft. 6 in. (4.8 m.) side. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 9 ft. 7 in. (2.9 m.). The plinth has lotus and *kumudam* mouldings and a *yali* frieze. Only the southern *devakoshta* has Dakshinamurti. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are square but modern.

Udaiyargudi (33*rd year*)

This is a suburb of Kattumannar Koyil (or gudi) 16 miles (25.75 km.) from Chidambaram. It was called *Viranarayanapuram* or *Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam*. This is one of the *brahmadeya* villages created by Parantaka I and colonised by learned brahmans.

Both the Vishnu and the Siva temples were also built in his reign. The Vishnu temple called *Viranarayana Vinnagaram* named after the surname of Parantaka I was renovated by the Pandya King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I without preserving its ancient features.

Fortunately the Siva temple of Anantisvaram at Udaiyargudi preserves at least the main character of the ancient Parantaka foundation. The earliest inscription on the walls of this temple is that of the 33rd year of Parantaka I. So this temple should have been built some time before A.D.940.

Tondamanad (34th year)

Tondamanad lies about six miles (9.66 km.) north west of Kalahasti. This place was formerly called

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Tondaman-Perarrur in Arrur *nadu,* a subdivision of Tiruvengada *kottam*. Aditya I seems to have died here and an inscription at Tirumalpuram calls him "*Tondaiman Arrur Tunjina udaiyar*" and Tondaman Arrur is only modern Tondamanad. In or before his 34*th year* Parantaka I, his dutiful son, raised a *Pallippadai* temple over the burial place of his father and the Lord of the temple thus raised is called in the inscription, "*Pallippadai Vagisvarapandita Bhattarar Sri Kodandaramesvaramagiya Adityesvarar Grihattu-Alvar*". Aditya I had the surname of Kodandarama and this *memorial sepulchral temple* was named after both these names. A large endowment was also made for the celebration of a festival, the feeding of a thousand persons on the festival days and for the supply of food offerings, vegetables, curds, ghee and other requirements for the celebration of the festival from the asterism of *Kettai* to that of *Sadayam* in the month of *Purattasi*.

This is a historical monument built by a great Chola ruler in memory of his equally great father and it is a pity to see the monument in a dilapidated and neglected condition. The main walls of the temple including the fine basement, the foundation-inscription on its moulding of Parantaka I, the *yali* frieze, the *devakoshtas* and the *Linga* in the sanctum have survived and are in a fairly tolerable state of preservation. The Department of Archaeology should take immediate steps to declare it a protected monument.

Gramam (36th year)

Gramam lies about two miles (3.2 km.) to the west of the main Madras - Tiruchy trunk road (107th milestone) on the road to Tirukkoyilur.

Gramam had an early Chola temple at least from the seventh century A.D. It was then known as Tirumundisvaram. Appar has sung a hymn on the *Sivalokan* of Tiru-mundisvaram. In the days of Parantaka I

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it was rebuilt of stone.

Gramam was the headquarters of Rajaditya, the son of Parantaka I who maintained an army here against the threat to the northern frontier by the Rashtrakutas. He seems to have been crowned heir-apparent about A.D. 947 (2 years before the battle of Takkolam). Hence this place came to be known as *Mouli-Gramam* or *Mudiyur* (Tamil).

The temple, now known as that of Sivalokanatha-svamin, was called in the past that of *Arruttali Maha-devar* or *Perumanadigal* of Tirumudiyur (Mouli-gramam).

An inscription dated in Kali *yuga* era (equivalent to the 36th year of Parantaka I and A.D.943) mentions that Vellan Kumaran a native of Malainadu and a great general (*Perum-padai-nayakan*) and the first servant (*Mulabritya*) of the Cholas built this temple of stone.

The *garbhagriha* is a square. The *ardhamandapa* projects 9 ft. 1 in. (2.77 m.) in front. There are the usual five *devakoshtas* with sculptures of Ganesa, Dakshina-murti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga.

Sittur

Sittur is an obscure village in the Pudukkottai division (old Pudukkottai State) of the Tiruchy district.

According to the local inscriptions, the place is known as *Sirraiyur,* a *brahmadeya* in Kudalur *nadu;* and the deity of this temple is called *Tiru-Agnisvarattu-Paramesvarar*.

The oldest inscription on this temple is one of the fourth year of a Rajakesarivarman who has to be identified with Gandaraditya. According to this inscription, a chief called *Mahimalaya Irukkuvel alias Parantaka Vira Solan* of Kodumbalur makes a gift of three *veli* of land for food offerings and for the maintenance of drummers during the *Sribali* ceremony. The same chief

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or his agent makes other gifts to the temples at Kudumiyamalai and Nirpalani. While he was camping at Tirupparaitturai, he makes gifts to the deities at Palur and Allur.

So, the temple at Sittur should be considered a temple of the later period of Parantaka I and it should have been built anyhow before the fourth year of Gandaraditya, Parantaka I's successor.

RAJADITTISVARAM

Kilpakkam

Rajaditya (or Rajaditta) was the eldest son of Parantaka I. He was ruling the northern portion of the Chola empire with his military headquarters at Gramam. He was in charge of the northern command helped by a Kerala Commander named Velan Kumaran and his Malayalee soldiers and his retinue. They were responsible for the rebuilding of stone of the two ancient temples at Gramam and Tirunamanallur.

Another temple named after Rajaditya is found at Kilpakkam near Arakonam in the Chingleput district. In this place there is a temple now called Narendesvaram. There are four inscriptions on the walls of this temple. One of them on the south base of the temple (A.R. no. 37 of 1911) of the 19th year of Rajendra Chola I is incomplete. It mentions that Kilpakkam was the eastern hamlet of Nittavinoda Chaturvedimangalam and that there was in it a temple called *Rajadittisvaram* enshrining the deity of *Rajaditta Vithankan.*

From another inscription on the *south wall* of the same temple of the 17th year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Rajendra Chola deva (I) (A.R. no. 38 of 1917) we learn that the *Mahasabha* of Nityavinoda - Chaturvedimangalam met in the temple of Sri *Kailasam* alias *Mummudi Sola Isvaram Udaiyar* and borrowed twenty *kalanju* of gold from the temple of *Rajaditta Isvaram Udaiyar* which was placed in the hands of the

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village committee (*ur variyam*) for the supply of oil to the temple by way of interest on the amount borrowed.

Mummudi Sola seems to be a surname of Rajaditya himself and it is likely that these two temples at Kilpakkam were built in the days of Rajaditya and named after the Chola heir-apparent.

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE PERIOD OF RULE OF KRISHNA III

According to the Karhad Copper Plate grant (*Rashtrakuta*), Kannaradeva after the conquest of Kachchi and Tanjai ordered, while camping at Melpadi, the erection of three temples in the newly conquered country. They are those of Kalapriya, Gandamartanda and Krishnesvara. It is not possible to identify them (See E.C.A.I, p. 198, Kaverippakkam).

Bahur

A temple built during the period of his rule of the Chola country (A.D. 949–968) is the Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple at Bahur near Pondicherry in which there are six inscriptions of his (of the 22nd, 26th and 27th regnal years); and from one of them (of his 26th regnal year, A.R. no. 172 of 1902) we learn that this temple was just then being built of stone.

Vellore

Another built during his age is the Pannapesvarar temple at Velur (Vellore) in the North Arcot district. In its suburb called Velurppadi (modern Velappadi), there is a hill close by named Sudaduparai (modern Bavaji or Bhagavati hill). On this hill, a certain *Pannappai* built in the 26th regnal year of Kannaradeva (A.D. 966), a Siva temple named *Pannapesvaram* after her. To this temple a gift of the village of Velurppadi was made by a relation of the builder of the temple, and a feudatory of Kannaradeva named Nolamba

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Tribhuvanadhira *alias* Pallava Murari (A.R. no. 10 of 1897; E.I. IV, pp. 81–83).

As stated already, this study of the early Chola temples is not a complete survey. Owing to limitation of time and facilities, I have confined myself only to those monuments which were easily accessible and for which some tangible evidence for fixing their age was available. I shall, however, casually mention some more temples which could be assigned to this period.

Adikudi

Adikudi village lies on the north bank of the Kaveri about three miles from Tiruchy town on the road to Lalgudy (Tiruchy district). It was a *brahmadeya* village. In this village there is an Early Chola temple now known as that of Ankuresvarar. On the left jamb of the entrance to the central shrine, there is an inscription of the third regnal year of a Parakesarivarman which can be assigned to Parantaka I. It registers an endowment of land by two residents of this village for feeding 25 brahmans and for the celebration of the *Masi* festival for seven days ending in a hunting festival (*tiruvettai*) to God Isvara Bhattaraka (the old name of the main deity of this temple). In the process of remodelling, the original structure has been interfered with so much that it is not possible to infer about its old features in the early Chola period.

Tiruvannamalai

Tirruvannamalai has a long recorded history with 125 inscriptions ranging from the days of Parantaka I (10th century) to the days of Sadasiva Raya of Vijayanagar (16th century).

It is believed that there was an earlier temple during the days of Appar (7th century A.D.) who has sung a hymn on the glory of Anu-Annamalai, whose temple is situated on the western side of the circuit round the hill.

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Arunachalesvarar temple

The temple of Arunachalesvarar (or Tiru-Annamalaiyar) has a number of early Chola inscriptions. The earliest of them are found on the *south* and the *west* walls of the *central shrine*. Four of them belong to an unspecified Parakesaripanmar and they are on the south wall of the central shrine and seem assignable to Parantaka I. One of his 3rd year (A.R. no. 470 of 1902) is a gift of a perpetual lamp to Tiruvannamalai Mahadevar by Cheraman Deviyar Kilanadigal (a Kerala princess). It was a period of close friendship between the Cholas under Parantaka I and the then ruler of Kerala, further strengthened by a matrimonial alliance. The Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola state that Parantaka I "married the daughter resembling regal glory incarnate, of the Kerala king who was called the Paluvettaraiyar".

Another of the fourth regnal year (no. 473 of 1902) also records a gift of a perpetual lamp to this deity by one, perhaps a royal officer, called Tennavan Brahmadhirayan of Sola-nadu (Chola country).

There are two other inscriptions of a Parakesarivarman whose dates are lost. Both are gifts for lamps to Tiruvannamalai Alvar or Lord of *Tiruvanna*. One is by the queen (Deviyar) of Perumanadigal.

There is, however, another inscription on the *west* wall of the central shrine which could be definitely attributed to Parantaka I. It is an inscription of the 15th regnal year of Madirai konda Kopparakesaripanmar. It registers a gift of a perpetual lamp to Tiruvannattu Mahadevar by Arkunran Anbarkkadi of Vanakkopadi north of the Pennai river.

During the time of *Kannaradeva* the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, who conquered this region in the latter part of the reign of Parantaka I, a gift of 20 cows for *curd-bhath* (tayir-amudu) to Tiruvannamalai Alvar is recorded.

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There are two inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th years of Parakesarivarman "who took the head of Vira Pandya". They are also on the south wall of the central shrine. They are gifts for lamps to Tiruvannamalai Alvar (or *Andar,* in the 4th year record).

On a slab built into the floor of the first *prakara* of this temple there is a record of the 13th regnal year of a Ko-Rajakesarivarman which may be assigned either to Aditya I or more probably Sundara Chola. It concerns a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for the maintenance of the tank at Puliyurnattu Chaturvedimangalam, a *devadana* and *brahmadeya* of Tiru-vannadu (Tiruvannamalai) by a member of Vanakovaraiyar family.

Seethesvaram

Kanchipuram is a celebrated ancient city of temples. One of the famous temples in this city is the temple of Ekambanathar (later known as Ekambaranathar). Its sacred tank is called the *Sarva-tirtham* on the south side of the road leading to Kailasanathar temple. On the south bund of this tank there are two temples, Lakshmanesvaram and Seethesvaram.

Seethesvaram faces the east. It consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa.* The *devakoshta* figures are Ganapati and Yoga-Dakshinamurti (on the south side), Vishnu (on the west side) and Brahma and Durga (on the north side).

The figures of the *griva* are also interesting; viz. Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, Brahma in the north and Balasubrahmanya in the east.

In view of the installation of *Lingodbhavar* in the *griva,* the temple may be assigned tentatively to the period of Parantaka I.

Tiruvalanjuli

(i) Kapardisvarar temple

(ii) Kshetrapaladevar shrine

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The temple of Kapardisvarar is a celebrated early Chola Siva temple in the heartland of the Chola country. The river Kaveri is said to have disappeared into an underground cleft, and after the self-immolation of Eranda Munivar, the river reappeared and took a turn here to the *right*. Hence the name of the place (valanjuli). The river Arisilar flows close by. The presiding deity of this temple is said to have been formerly worshipped by Indra, and is sung both by Appar and Sambandar.

This deity has received the devoted homage of the great kings of the land. On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 38th regnal year of Parakesarivarman who took Madurai. It mentions a gift of land (10¾ *veli*?) and one *ma*) to *Tiruvalanjuli Mahadevar* for various services to the Lord. In the body of the record, we have the order confirming the grant in the 17th regnal year of Rajaraja I. Perhaps it was an old endowment regularised by Rajaraja I or the re-engraving of an older inscription of Parantaka I after the rebuilding of the new temple (SII, VIII, no. 217; A.R. no. 620 of 1902).

In the days of Rajaraja I, a shrine for Bhairavar (Kshetrapala devar) was built of stone by his chief queen Danti-sakti-vitanki *alias* Lokamahadeviyar (*nam eduppitta* tirukkarrali). Gold and costly jewels were presented to this deity both by *Kundavai nangaiyar,* the (youngest) daughter of Rajaraja I and the queen (Mahadeviyar) of Vimaladitta devar, and by Nangaiyar Madevadigalar (*naduvil penpillai,* the middle born) out of the gold presented by her father at the time of his *abhishekam* (*Rajaraja devarkku adi arula prasadam perra pon*). This is recorded in an inscription of the 25th regnal year of Rajaraja I engraved on the north wall of the Bhairavar shrine (A.R. no. 633 of 1902; SII, VIII, no. 234).

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And in the 24th year 285th day of Rajaraja I, a gift of land (made tax-free) as *devadana* was made by a royal order for various services to the two deities of Kshetrapala and Ganapatiyar set up in the temple of Tiruvalanjuli Alvar by Danti-Sakti-Vitanki *alias* Lokamadeviyar. This is recorded on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (A.R. no. 124-A of 1902; SII, VIII, no. 223).

On the north wall of the Bhairava shrine, there is an inscription of the 3rd year 221st day of Parakesari Rajendra Chola I (son of Rajaraja I) which states that he passed through a hillock (mound) of gingely seeds (*tila-parvatam-pukkaruli*), and that he, on that occasion, presented as gifts 12 gold flowers for being placed at the feet of the Lord (*Sri-pada-pushpam*); another gift of a gold flower was made to this Lord by his queen Valavan Madeviar (A.R. no. 633-B of 1902; SII, VIII, no. 236).

On the same wall, there is another inscription (3rd regnal year) of Parakesari Rajendra Chola I which records a gift of two gold flowers to the Lord of the shrine of Kshetrapala devar by Danti-Sakti-Vitanki-alvar queen of Rajaraja I out of the gold used by her for the *Hiranyagarbha* ceremony performed by her (along with her husband who performed the *Tulabhara*) at Tiruvisalur in the 29th regnal year of Rajaraja I (A.R. 633-C of 1902; SII, VIII, no. 237).

It may be added that his queen Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Lokamahadevi was also the builder of the temple of Vadakailasam at Tiruvaiyaru named after her *Lokamahadevi Isvaram* (SII, V, no. 521; A.R. nos. 219 and 222 of 1894).

Tiruppappuliyur (Cuddalore N.T.) Patalisvarar temple

Tiruppappuliyur (Tiruppadirippuliyur) is said to be the southern Pataliputra, named after the famous

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Magadha capital. It lies on the southern bank of the Gadilam.

It seems to have been a flourishing Jain centre at least from the time of the Pallava king Simhavarman I of Kanchi (middle of the 5th century A.D.) to the period of Mahendravarman I (7th century A.D.). Appar originally of Jain persuasion was converted to Saivism by his elder sister. Mahendravarman I, under the influence of his Jaina guru, is said to have resorted to many acts of inhuman persecution. Appar was tied to a stone and thrown into the sea. Thanks to divine help, he had a miraculous escape. It was on the sea shore near this place that he landed safely after the ordeal. He also emerged unscathed when he was thrown alive into a burning lime-kiln. These miracles of Appar led to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I into a zealous Saivite. This great turning point in the history of Mahendravarman I is graphically described in the inscriptions engraved in the upper cave temple on the Malaikkottai (the Rock-Fort) at Tiruchy. The *Periyapuranam* of Sekkilar (of the days of Anapaya *alias* Kulottunga Chola II, 12th century A.D.) describes how the Pallava king destroyed many Jain temples and monasteries at Pataliputram and, with these building materials, built a temple for Siva at Tiruvadigai.

The Lord of this temple seems to have been associated with Vyagrapada. Hence the suffix *Puliyur*. The *sthala vriksha* is Patali.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 18th regnal year of Madiraikonda Kop-Parakesari, i.e. Parantaka I. The main deity of this temple is called in this inscription *Tirukkadaijnalal Perumanadigal;* and the temple is described as being situated in the *devadana* village of *Padirippuliyur* on the northern bank (of the Kaveri). It records a gift of an areca garden to this deity by one Damodaran Orriyuran and it was placed under the protection of

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Tirunattuk-kanapperumakkal (A.R. no. 116 of 1902; SII, VII, 740).

In the same place there is another inscription of the same year (18th) of Maduraikonda Kop-Parakesari-panmar and an endowment for food offerings (*Tiru-vamirdu*) to this deity was made by one Narayanan Sendan, and this capital endowment was placed in charge of the *Tiruvunnaligai ganapperumakkal* (the members of the Temple stores) (A.R. no. 120 of 1920; SII, VII, no. 744).

There is a record of a Pandya ruler Vikrama Pandya (acc. A.D. 1283). It relates to an exceedingly interesting and sensational inquiry and settlement of a land dispute (A.R. no. 135 of 1902, SII, VII, no. 759). In the third regnal year of Vikrama Pandya a royal officer of the Pandyan empire installed and consecrated in this temple an icon of Subrahmanya Pillaiyar and bought two *ma* of land in a temple-public-auction as *chandes-varap-peruvilai* to be given as a gift to this deity. Then the brahmans of the village stoutly protested that the lands were *theirs* as part of the *Brahma-kshetram,* and the Mahesvaras assembled together to register their protest and one of them even burnt himself to death evidently to assert their rights.

Then the dispute was brought to the notice of the Pandya emperor, and he deputed two of his high ranking officers Pillai Pallavarayar and Pillai Alagiya Manavalaperumal to investigate the case. In the fourth regnal year the officers came to the spot and summoned all the local people including all kinds of land owners, the *nattars* and the *sthanatthars* of the temple and a thorough inquiry was held. On the demand for documentary evidence the brahmans claimed prescriptive rights over the lands, and declared that they were enjoying rights of sale and mortgage even as late as the period of rule of the later Pallava ruler Kopperunjinga (acc. A.D. 1243). Finally in the fifth regnal year

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of Vikrama Pandya the royal order cancelling the *Tirunamattukkani* was communicated to the parties concerned. The royal order (*Sri-mukham*) was received with great rejoicings and a festive procession of all the local people including the brahmans finely dressed and adorned marched in a gayous mood round the main streets of the town to the temple and had the king's decision engraved on the temple wall. This inscription seems to be the record of this royal order (A.R. no. 135 of 1902; SII, VII no. 759); and this is found on the base of the verandah of the first *prakara*.

Siyamangalam : Sthambhesvarar (*Tun-andar*) temple (Tirrukkarrali Mahadevar)

Siyamangalam is in the Vandavasi (Wandiwash) taluk of the North Arcot district. It contains a Siva temple named that of Sthambhesvarar (or Tun-Andar in Tamil) which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *mandapas* in front of it and a stone wall of enclosure.

The original rock-temple was done in the days of the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I (7th century A.D.). There are two rock-cut pillars at the entrance to this temple and there is an inscription on each of them. There are a number of Chola inscriptions on the walls of enclosure and on the surface of the rock in the northeast corner of the temple.

The earliest inscription (a Sanskrit verse in Pallava-grantha script) is the one engraved on the *right* pillar of the entrance (A.R. no. 67 of 1900). It mentions that this rock temple called *Avanibhajana-Pallavesvaram* was caused to be made by King *Lalitankura*. These two names are the surnames of Mahendravarman I (7th century A.D.).

There is another inscription in Tamil inscribed on the *left* pillar of the gateway of the temple. It records that in the 3rd year of Nandivikramavarman, one Adavi, the *Kilavan* (headman) of Tiruppalaiyur,

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obtained the permission of his immediate overlord Sri Gangaraiyar (the *Ganga* king) Nergutti Peruman and built the *mukhamandapa* in front of the rock temple for the merit of his mother. It seems that the Ganga ruler was a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandivikramavarman. As the script of this inscription resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription, it seems reasonable to assign it to Nandivarman Pallavamalla II (A.D. 731–796).

The other *mandapa* and the stone wall of enclosure were constructed during the Chola period (Epi. Ind. VI, no. 32).

One of the earliest inscriptions during the Chola period is one of the 22nd regnal year of Sri Kannaradeva, evidently the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. Akkayi devi, the daughter of Sri Kannaradeva makes a grant of land for food offerings (*tiruvamudu* or *Olukkavi*) to Tirukkarrali Mahadevar of Siyamangalam.

There are three inscriptions of a Kop-Parakesari. One of them is an inscription of the fourth year of Vira Pandyan Talaikonda Kop-Parakesari which may be assigned to Aditya II, the son of Sundara Chola. It refers to a gift by Ganga Sulamani *alias* Mummudi Sembiyan Siya Gangaraiyan to Tirukkarrali Ma (devar) of Siyamangalam. The title of Mummudi Sola was borne by Gandaraditya (E.C.A. I, p. 190). So this chief should belong to the period of Gandaraditya or to a later period.

Another inscription of the third year of an unspecified Parakesari (SII, VII, no. 73; A.R. no. 69 of 1900) may also be assigned to Aditya II as one Mummudi Sola Sembiyan Sri Kongaraiyan who is said to be the governor of Palkunrakkottam, Venkunrakkottam and Singapura *nadu* (the region round about Gingee) makes a gift of land for offerings of *Olukkavi* or *Tiruvamudu* to Tirukkarrali Mahadevar of Siyamangalam.

Another inscription of the 5th year of a Kop-Para-

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kesarivarman (north wall, mandapa, SII, VII, no. 64; A.R. no. 60 of 1900) mentions a gift of 10 *ma* of land bought from the *urar* for a lamp to Tirukkarrali Mahadevar of Siyamangalam. We are not sure if the grant could be assigned to the period of Aditya II, as the *ur* of Siyamangalam is described as being included in the larger territorial division of *Jayangonda Sola mandalam*. It may be observed that the title of Jayangonda Sola was assumed by Rajaraja I, and that too later in his reign. So, on the available evidence, this record should belong to the Parakesari later than Rajaraja I. Perhaps it may belong to Rajendra Chola I.

There are other Chola inscriptions of Rajaraja I (19th year A.R. no. 227 of 1901), Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II.

An inscription of Kulottunga I (A.R. no. 61 of 1900) mentions that a certain local officer called Kulottunga Sola Sambuvarayan built the northern part of the *Tirumaligai* (wall of enclosure) of this temple and had the earlier gifts re-engraved on this new wall of enclosure.

Tiruppugalur : Agnisvarar (or Konappiran) temple

This place lies four miles east of the Nannilam railway station in the Tanjavur district.

The Lord of this temple is believed to have been worshipped by Agni, and there is a figure of Agni in front of the deity; The Lord is called *Agnisvarar;* He is also known as *Konappiran* (as the deity is in an inclined posture).

Appar is said to have lived here during the last period of his life and his last hymn (his swan song) before his final release was sung by him here. This place is also associated with another Tamil saint Murti Nayanar.

On the north side of the central shrine, there is another ancient shrine called that of Vardhamanesvarar.

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There is also a shrine for Vatapi Ganapati in this temple.

On the west wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 16th regnal year of a Parakesarivarman who may be identified with Uttama Chola. Though not a foundation-inscription, it seems to be the earliest of its existing inscriptions. It registers a sale of land by Uttama Chola deviyar, *alias* Gopan Sankuppu, a queen of Uttama Chola for a lamp to the Lord of *Kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar* at Tripuramangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Kurumbur nadu (A.R. no. 66 of 1927–28).

An inscription of the twenty-first year of Rajaraja I (A.R. no. 68 of 1927–28) refers to the setting up of the icon of Tirunavukkarasu (Appar) in the temple, and a gift is made for services to this deity.

An inscription of the second year of Vikrama Chola records the sale of land for the maintenance of a hospital (A.R. no. 97 of 1927–28) for tending the sick and the destitute established on the northern bank of the Mudikonda-Solapperaru at Tiruppugalur. The assembly of Kshatriyanatha-chaturvedimangalam met in the *Naralokaviran mandapa* in the temple of *Pugalurdevar* and made a remission of the taxes on the land gifted.

The temple of Tiruppugalur is one of the celebrated temples in the Chola desa with rich associations from the earliest period of recorded history.

Tiruttani

Tiruttani is in the old Chittor district, now in Tamil Nadu. According to inscriptions, its ancient name was *Tiruttaniyal*.

There are three ancient temples in this town. On the top of the low-hill now served by a motor road is the temple of Subrahmanya. At the foot of the hill there are the Siva temple of Virattanesvarar and the Vishnu

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temple of Vijayaraghava Perumal.

(i) *Virattanesvarar temple*

The Virattanesvarar temple built of polished granite is a gem of architecture and the latest of the Pallava structural temples. On the south wall of this temple there are two Pallava inscriptions. One in Tamil verse (composed by the king himself ? A.R. no. 433 of 1905) states that it was built by Nambi Appi; the second mentions that in the 18th regnal year of Vijaya Aparajita Vikramavarman (A.R.E. no. 435 of 1905), Nambi Appi made a gift of 1000 *kuli* of land to the temple.

From an inscription of the 28th year of Rajaraja I, we learn that this place was called Jagannatha Chaturvedimangalam. It relates to a private gift for feeding pilgrims to Tirupati. There is also an inscription of the fourth regnal year of an unspecified Rajakesarivarman which may be assigned to Rajaraja I (no. 432 of 1905). It mentions a gift for a lamp, and the supervision of the endowment was placed in the hands of the annual committee.

There are other gifts of the days of Rajendra I (10th year—436 of 1905—and 19th year—no. 434 of 1905) and also one of the 11th year of Vikrama Chola (later Chola).

An inscription of the 16th regnal year of an unspecified Parakesarivarman is found on a stone set up near the entrance to the temple (438 of 1905). This concerns the sale of land by the local assembly. We could say that it might belong to the pre-Rajaraja I age.

The Lord *Subrahmanya* on the hill is mentioned in an inscription on the east and north walls of this temple. The name of the donor and of the reigning king at the time of the gift are not available.

(*ii*) *Subrahmanya temple on the hill*

The temple of Suprahmanya on the hill has only

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four inscriptions. The earliest is one of the 32nd regnal year of Maduraikonda Parakesari. It concerns a gift of land. The inscription is engraved on a stone close to the *garbhagriha*. Its characters are modern and this place is said to be included in Jayangonda Chola mandalam, named after a surname of Rajaraja I. Perhaps it was a later distorted version of an earlier grant of the days of Parantaka I (no. 439 of 1905).

There is another damaged inscription of Maduraikonda Parakesari on a stone built in the wall of the *antarala* of the temple (no. 441 of 1905).

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a Vijayanagar inscription of Vira Kampana Udaiyar (14th century). On the east wall of the first *prakara*, there is a Telugu inscription which states that the *prakara* wall was built by the Mahamandalesvarar Tiruvengalanatha Raja deva Chola Maharaja of Vellandu (no. 442 of 1905)—a later Telugu-Chola chief.

(*iii*) *Vijayaraghava Perumal temple*

The third local temple is the Vishnu temple called that of Vijayaraghava Perumal. On the south wall of the central shrine there is an inscription of the 34th regnal year of Maduraikonda Parakesarivarman which relates to a gift of land by the local assembly of Tiruttaniyal to the temple of Tiruvandapuram, as this Vishnu temple is called in this inscription (no. 449 of 1905).

A descendant of Karikala called Narayana Raja claims to have built this temple (no. 447 of 1905).

There are also an inscription of Rajendra I (year lost, 446 of 1905) and another of the 31st regnal year of Rajadhiraja I which stops with the historical introduction (no. 444 of 1905).

We have evidence enough to establish the existence of all the three local temples during the period before the accession of Rajaraja I.

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Jambai : Jambunathar temple

Jambai is a town on the northern bank of the Pennai; It is situated in the South Arcot district. It has an ancient temple called in the past according to the local inscriptions that of *Tantonrippiran* at Pennai-Vadagarai Valaiyur. It is now known as the temple of Jambunathar.

This temple seems to have been reconstructed in the days of Rajaraja I, as the inscriptions of Rajaraja I and of his son and successor Rajendra I are found on the walls of the present central shrine,[3] and the earlier inscriptions of Parantaka I and of Kannaradeva are found (in fragments or mutilated) on slabs built into the floor of the second *prakara* or at the entrance to the *gopuram*. Evidently, these earlier inscribed stones of the central shrine were used in the building of the stone structure of the *gopuram*.

Out of the seven inscriptions of Parantaka I, four are dated ones. The date is lost in three of them. The earliest is one of the 24th regnal year of Madirai konda Parakesarivarman found on a slab built into the floor of the second *prakara* of the *Amman* shrine. It refers to the construction of a *mandapa* at the city of Valaiyur by Viranarayaniyar, queen of Gandaradittar and the daughter of Solamadeviyar (A.R.E. 108 of 1906); One of his 25th regnal year (*gopuram,* right of entrance) mentions the gift of a lamp to the Lord of Vidividangar in the temple of Tantonrippiran at Pennai-Vadagarai-Valaiyur (A.R.E. 117 of 1906); that of his 33rd year (*gopuram,* left of entrance) concerns the gift of a lamp

[3]Inscriptions of Rajaraja I: 16th year (A.R.E.90 of 1906); 24th year (84of 1906); 26th year (71 and 86 of 1906); 28th year (77 of 1906).

Valaiyur the old name of Jambai was renamed *Nittavinodapuram* after a title of Rajaraja I.

It is renamed *Rajendrapuram* in the days of his son and successor Rajendra I (3rd year, 80 of 1906 and 25th year, 82 of 1906).

Again this place is renamed *Virarajendrapuram* as mentioned in an inscription of the 40th regnal year of Kulottunga I (68 of 1906).

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(A.R.E. 124 of 1906); and one of his 35th year (*gopuram,* right of entrance) is a fragment which refers to an endowment for daily requirements.

There are also seven inscriptions of Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva; the regnal year is lost in two of them. There are two inscriptions of his 23rd regnal year; one of them (south wall, *gopuram*) is a fragment and it refers to the gift of a lamp (A.R.E. 110 of 1906); and the other (*gopuram,* right of entrance) mentions the gift of a lamp to the temple of Tantonripperumal *alias* Vidividanga devar at Valaiyur on the northern bank of the Pennai in *Vanagoppadi* (A.R.E. 118 of 1906). The inscription of his 24th year (*gopuram,* right of entrance, A.R.E. 116 of 1906) refers to a gift of gold for a lamp. That of his 26th regnal year (*gopuram,* right of entrance, A.R.E. 112 of 1906) mentions the gift of 90 sheep for a lamp and of gold for offerings to the shrine of Surya devar in the temple of Tantonri Alvar at Valaiyur. The inscription of his 28th year (*gopuram,* left of entrance, A.R.E. 125 of 1906) refers to a gift for a lamp.

Thus it is clear that the temple at Jambai in the old Bana country was called Tantonrisvaram at Jambai or Valaiyur. The seven inscriptions each of Parantaka I and of Kannaradeva should have belonged to the original central shrine of the temple; and when it was renovated, the old inscribed slabs should have been used for the construction of the *gopuram,* the kitchen and the other parts of the temple. It is a matter of great significance that the victor Kannaradeva was no less zealous than the vanquished Parantaka deva I in honouring the gods of the temples of the land.

Nallur : Kalyanasundaresvarar temple

Nallur lies two miles south of Sundarapperumal railway station in the Tanjavur district. It has an ancient temple called that of Kalyanasundaresvarar

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and it possesses the famous Nataraja (see E.C.A.I Pls. 5 and 6). It is a *madakkoyil* of great antiquity and celebrity. Sambandar (7th century A.D.) sings in his *Devaram* hymns that the temple is on an artificial hillock. (Tirunallur-malai-malgu-koyil Koyilaha magilindiree). Appar was blessed by the Lord by placing His feet on the head of his devotee. It was the home of the exploits of Amarnidi Nayanar, one of the 63 Tamil saints and of Bringu rishi. Agastya is said to have been favoured with the vision of the divine wedded-couple of Siva and Parvati; hence the name of the main deity Kalyanasundarar. Agastya is shown as a *linga* by the side of the main deity of this temple.

On the south wall of the main shrine, there is an inscription of the 10th regnal year of Uttama Chola. It records an inquiry into the affairs of the temple of of Mahadevar at Nallur under the orders of the king by a certain Manakkurai Viranarayanar (A.R.E. 41 of 1911). There are two fragmentary inscriptions of Rajaraja I. One of them of his 23rd regnal year of... ".....Kesarivarman" records the gift of a lamp to the temple of *Ilangoyil Mahadevar*. So there should have existed here a temple for the deity of the preliminary consecration.

There are a large number of Chola inscriptions up to the time of Rajaraja III and of Hoysala Vira Ramanatha; but the existence of an inscription of Uttama Chola on the main wall of the central shrine proves that the original foundation belonged to the pre-Rajaraja I age.

Emapperur : Vedapurisvarar temple

Emapperur is in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district in Tamilnadu. There is an ancient temple in this town called now the Vedapurisvarar; but according to the local inscriptions the Lord of the temple was known as Tiruvalandurai udaiya Paramasvamin.

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On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there are two inscriptions of Parantaka I. One of his 35th regnal year mentions a gift of land for rearing a flower-garden to supply daily a garland (six spans long) to the god. The other of his 36th year concerns a gift of nine *kalanju* of gold for a lamp (A.R. no. 527 and 525 of 1921).

There are two inscriptions of Kannaradeva. One of his 23rd year mentions a gift of 45 sheep for half a lamp by the same donor who made a gift in the 36th year of Parantaka I. The other of the 27th year makes provision also for a perpetual lamp (A.R. no. 526 and 529 of 1921).

An inscription of the 14th year of the Rajarajakesarivarman—very likely Rajaraja I—mentions a gift of land for offerings and lamp by the Chief of Panaippakkam to the metallic images of Tribhuvana Sundarar and his consort set up by him in the temple of Tiruvalandurai Alvar (A.R. no. 515 of 1921).

This temple retains the *mandapa* which belonged to the early Chola age. It seems that its original central shrine might have been renovated.

Tinnakkonam : Pasupatisvarar temple

Tinnakkonam is in the Musiri taluk of Tiruchy district. There is an early Chola temple called Pasupatisvaram, which has three inscriptions of Parantaka I and the Lord is called in them Tirumadattukkunnanar at Tirunerkunram. One of his 24th regnal year relates to an endowment for feeding a person in the temple (A.R. no. 249 of 1932–33), and the other two (A.R. no. 250 of 1932–33, 14th year and A.R. no. 255 of 1932–33, 37th year) are gifts for lamps.

There is also an inscription of the 48th year of the later Chola king Kulottunga I (A.R. no. 252 of 1932–33). It also relates to a gift for a lamp.

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Tiruchchengodu : Ardhanarisvarar temple

Tiruchchengodu is in the modern Salem district of Tamilnadu. Formerly it formed part of the Kongu country whose conquest by the early Cholas began in the period of Aditya I and was completed during the rule of his son and successor Parantaka I. We have described, in the section on the temples of Parantaka I's time, the temple of Somesvarar at Somur. That Tiruchchengodu also of the former Kongu mandalam formed part of the Chola empire under Parantaka I is proved by the presence of three inscriptions of this king, on the rock close to the steps of this temple of Ardhanarisvarar (20th year, A.R. no. 633 of 1905; 27th year, A.R. no. 640 of 1905; 37th year, A.R. no. 632 of 1905). They relate to gifts for lamps. The inscription of his 27th year states that the gift of gold was entrusted to the assembly of Tiruchchengodu, and placed under the protection of the people of the eighteen districts.

Three phases of Early Chola Style ?

Douglas Barrett in his book 'Early Cola Bronzes' has postulated three phases during the *early Chola period* which, according to him, extended from A.D.850 to 1014 and its *second phase* from A.D. 940 to 970. In support of this theory, he considers the three temples of Erumbur, Gramam and Tirunamanallur, of the late Parataka I's age lying far from the heartland of the Chola capital and one temple near at home, the Gomuktisvarar temple at Tiruvaduturai which he assigns to the latter part of the reign of Parantaka I, and which he considers 'crucial to his argument' (Early Cola Bronzes pp. 5–7). Barrett holds the view that these four temples usher in (*his*) *phase II in or about* A.D. 940. Let us consider th soundness of this view.

Erumbur, Tirunaamnallur and Gramam

Barrett quotes inscriptions on the walls of these

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temples, some of them earlier than those of their foundation, which he considers *later copies*. Erumbur was built in the 28th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 935) and there are earlier inscriptions of the 5th, 9th, 10th and 16th years of a Parakesarivarman, and of the 20th and 26th years of Madiraikonda ko-Parakesarivarman. Similarly for Gramam which is said to have been built in the 36th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 943) though there are earlier grants from the 23rd to the 29th year. So also is Tirunamanallur built about the 28th regnal year of Parantaka I. He also admits that the Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar temple at Kilappaluvur contains inscriptions of Parantaka I from his 10th to his 37th year but because of the difficulty in the definitive assignment of one of the inscriptions of the 15th year of Parakesarivarman (no. 245 of 1926) to Parantaka I, he feels inclined to attribute this temple and the *devakoshta* sculptures in it to the age of Uttama Chola. He seems to imply that these inscriptions were later copies. He argues :– "There are many temples where it would have to be argued on grounds of architectural or sculptural *style* that inscriptions from an earlier temple or from loose stones had been inserted into or copied on to a later fabric" (p. 5). Again (on page 13) he adds : "We may conclude that the present fabric (of Tiru-Alandurai-Mahadevar temple) belongs to the reign of Uttama Chola, and the earlier inscriptions were copied on to it from the original early Parantaka I shrine to which the loose *dvarapala* may well have belonged".

I have to state at once that all the seven inscriptions of Parantaka I listed in my book Four Chola Temples (pp. 28 - 33) are *original* and *contemporary* ones and one of them of his 12th year is in commemoration of a great contemporary Chola victory over the combined armies of the Pandyas and the Ceylonese won by Paluvettarayan Kandan Amudanar in the battle of

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Velur. Erumbur, Gramam and Tirunamanallur—and Tiruvaduturai also—have *original contemporary* inscriptions. Therefore the suggestion that "we should have to accept that a temple *built* perhaps of brick on a stone base was later rebuilt of stone (in respect of Tiruvaduturai) from the kumuda *upwards,* important inscriptions being re-recorded on the new fabric" (p.7) is not acceptable.

I have also to admit that I have failed to mention that the loose *dvarapala* sculpture (Pl. 21 and p. 31 of my Four Chola Temples) lying loose in the eastern outer *prakara* near the main eastern *gopuram* might have belonged to the neighbouring temple of *Pasupati Isvaram,* also of Parantaka I's age but now in ruins; the *garbhagriha* portion alone of this temple has survived. The broken image of the other *dvarapala* was found in front of this temple in ruins (Pl. 17).

The instance of Tiruvidaimarudur quoted on page 5 of "Early Cola Bronzes" is not relevant to this context. It was a case of a brick temple later rebuilt of stone. In the absence of stone wall surface, the gifts and endowments could not be engraved on the brick walls of the temple. Two inscriptions of the days of Uttama Chola (Sembiyan Mahadevi) describe two different practices as to how the gifts made to temples built of *brick* were preserved and were engraved on the stone walls after they had been built of stone.

(i) One method is described in an inscription at *Tiruvidaimarudur* (no. 199 of 1907, SII, III, 124).

This inscription of the 4th year 325th day of a Parakesarivarman who is to be identified with Uttama Chola mentions that all the inscribed stones of earlier endowments were *kept in underground cellars* prior to renovation and that the local *sabha* of Tiraimur, the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudur, the temple servants and the royal officers met in the temple hall and ordered that they should be taken out of the cellars and engraved on the

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stone walls of the newly built temple (see E.C.A. I, p. 175). On further examination, the Assembly noticed an omission of an old endowment of 60 *kalanju* of gold made by the Pallava ruler Kaduvettigal Nandipotharaiyar and this too was ordered to be re-engraved.

(ii) The other method is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkodikkaval (A.R. no. 36 of 1931).

An inscription of the 11th year of Ko-Parakesarivarman assignable to Uttama Chola contains the interesting information that before the erection of the temple of Tirukkotisvarar of stone, the inscribed *stone slabs* of the earlier endowments were found *scattered over the place* (munbu dharmatthukku vaithu karkallil vettik-kidanda avai veveru kallal pala vidatilaik kidanda avai ellam inda sri-vimanattil munera vettikkolha) and Sembiyan Mahadevi the mother of Uttama Chola who rebuilt the temple of *stone* ordered that those endowments should be re-engraved on the walls of the newly built stone temple.

One such record was of an old endowment of the 4th plus 9th year (13th year) of the Pandya king Ko-Maran Sadaiyan. After the reengraving of the endowments, the old inscribed stones were found useless and therefore were discarded and thrown away (inda sri-vimanattile era vettinamayil mun nivandakam vettik kidanda tanik kallal ubhaiyogam illamayil atu tavirndadu).

There is epigraphical reference to the conversion of a *brick* temple into one of stone. An inscription of the 40th regnal year of Parakesarivarman (a mistake for *Rajakesarivarman*) Kulottunga Chola deva (A.D. 1110) on the south wall of the *mandapa* of the Bilvanathesvarar temple at Tiruvaigavur, 10 miles northwest of Kumbakonam (no. 51 of 1914) states that one Pundi-Udaiyar Suriyan Pavalak-Kunranar *alias* Vannadudaiyan petitioned to the king in his 32nd regnal year and built of *stone* the central shrine and the *mandapa* of Tiruvaigavur Adigal Mahadevar after

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removing the old *brick* structure which had become dilapidated.

This will make it clear that the construction of temples or rebuilding new ones on old foundations and the engraving of inscriptions on temple walls required the sanction of the king or the local bodies whose eternal vigilance was very much in evidence during the whole period of Chola rule.

So all these temples with contemporary inscriptions should be assigned to the period of Parantaka I. And the *devakoshta* sculptures too unless they are replacements, should belong to the same age. There is evidence of an instance of a temple built in the days of Parantaka I having its *dvarapala* added at a later date. It is the temple at Somur. There is another instance at Karandai (Karuntattangudi near Tanjavur).

Stylistic features should be derived from a study of a sufficient number of *dated* monuments and sculptures, but it is unsound to go through the process in the reverse order. To do so is to put the cart before the horse.

Tiruvaduturai (3rd to 25th year)

It is contended that the temple at Tiruvaduturai ushers in the *second phase* of Early Chola style (of Barrett's) and it covers the period A.D. 940 to 970. Let us study the facts. There are two inscriptions of the 2nd year of a Parakesarivarman (nos. 135 and 136 of 1925). One Karrali Pichchan makes grants to this temple in the 3rd, 35th, 38th and 39th year of Parantaka I (A.D. 910, 942, 945 and 946). In the 25*th regnal year* of Parantaka I (A.D. 932), he claims to be its builder. (The term used is *edutta* — already erected — in the past tense). This is a *contemporary foundation inscription* on the south wall of the *garbhagriha*. His portrait is installed on the southern wall of the sanctum (no. 132 of 1925) east of the *devakoshta* housing Dakshinamurti. In his 38th regnal year (A.D.945), the king Parantaka I himself

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makes a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold for constructing the temple from the *kudappadai* upwards (the inscription is on the wall of the *ardhamandapa,* 143 of 1925). The ground plan is big, the *adhishthana* is high and ornate, the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are integral. The architectural forms are composed of typical 'phase I' (of Barrett's) elements. There is a false *antarala* and an additional *devakoshta* figure of *Agastya*. In spite of these new features, it is beyond our comprehension how in A.D. 940 a new stylistic phase set in and the temple was built up from the *kumudappadai* upwards about the year A.D. 945, especially in the face of the claim of Karrali Pichchan that the temple had already been erected as early as A.D. 932. Unless the temple was nearing completion, no one will be permitted to claim to be its builder. The setting up of the golden *stupi,* the ritual of *pradishtha* and the *Kumbhabhisheka*—these rituals alone should have been left over, and the king's grant should have been used for these final acts of consecration. The recording of the inscription and the installation of donor-portraits could be done only with the sanction of the local authority.

For instance, Rajaraja I began the construction of the Rajarajesvaram the grand temple of Tanjavur sometime before the 19th regnal year. Once a temple gets started, it will attract gifts and endowments. Many such are recorded in the Rajarajesvaram from the 19*th to the* 29*th regnal years* of Rajaraja I. And it is recorded that on the 26*th regnal year* 20*th day,* by which time the temple should have passed from the *Adhivasa* (preliminary consecration) stage to that of ritual installation (*pradishtha*) the king ordered that all the gifts from himself, his elder sister and his queens be engraved on the *Sri Vimana.*

Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* (of about the sixth century A.D.) lays down (chapter 59 : J.N. Banerjea,

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The Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 565–578) elaborate rules and regulations for the *pradishtha* of the main deity after the *adhivasa* stage. A pavilion should be erected for the preliminary consecration of the image in the southern or eastern quarter of the temple premises; it should be furnished with *toranas* and its top covered with leaves of trees. An altar should be raised and the image placed in it on a *bhadrasana.* After worshipping the image with flowers, garments, sandal paste, and to the accompaniment of the sounds of the conch and the trumpet, the image should be taken from the pavilion to the sanctum. It is likely that the *mula vigraha,* like the huge *linga* of Rajarajesvaram might have been installed along with the construction of the *garbhagriha* and its superstructure, and the deity would have been sanctified only after the *pradishtha, punyaha* and *kumbhabhisheka* ceremonies. It is laid down that the image of the preliminary consecration may be destroyed or a temple erected over it. Even now in New Delhi, two temples, the Uttara-Swaminatha temple and the Venkatesa Perumal temple, are under construction. These stages could be studied here with advantage.

There are instances of the erection of a permanent temple for the *Adhivasa* image also. In the Tamil land, such a temple for the *Adhiasa* deity is called *Ilangoyil.* In the Tanjavur district there is a village near Peralam called Tirumiyachchur with two shrines side by side, sung by the Nayanmars (7th century A.D.). The one of the permanent consecration is apsidal—one of the few apsidal temples in the *Chola desa* proper—and its presiding deity is called Muyarchi-nadesvarar, and is sung by Sambandar. The other shrine on the northern side is smaller, and has a square *garbhagriha.* It is called the *Ilangoyil* of Tirumiyachchur. This deity is called Sakalabhuvanesvarar and is sung by Appar. Evidently this is the shrine where the preliminary-

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consecrated deity had been installed. Appar in the first stanza of the decad on this shrine mentions the *'Torrtum Koyil'*, i.e., temple-to-be or the main temple and the *tonriya-koyil*, i.e., the shrine of the deity of preliminary consecration or the Ilangoyil (see section on temples of Uttama Chola's time).

Reference has already been made to the inscription of the 38th year of Parantaka I which mentions the gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold by king Parantaka I himself for the completion of the temple from the *kudappadai* upwards. This term *kudappadai* is very clear in the inscription and is free from doubt or ambiguity. It seems to me that the term *kudappadai* might mean the layer or moulding of the superstructure of the *vimana* below the stupi (stupika) or *stupikkudam*. There are two inscriptions in the Rajarajesvaram temple, Tanjavur which seem to elucidate this term. In the 25th year 275th day of Rajaraja I, the king is said to have handed over the copper-pot for the finial at the top of the *vimana*. It is said to have weighed about 235 lbs. and it was overlaid with gold whose weight is said to have been 2926 ½ *kalanju*. This gift is singled out for special mention and is to be considered significant.

Another inscription in the same temple gives a list of metal pinnacles *stupik-kudam* for the different shrines in the temple (no. 24 of 1897 ; SII, III, 90). So, we may infer that the gift of Parantaka I was meant for the installation of the *stupik-kudam* — the most costly, spectacular and meritorious of gifts, meant for the completion and final ritual-consecration of the deity installed in the temple. So till we get more light on this subject by new discoveries and future research, I am disinclined to accept the emendation of the term *kumudappadai* for *kudappadai* suggested by Gai and accepted by Barrett.

Let me mention another epigraphical reference to the rebuilding of an old dilapidated *misra* temple.

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At Nattamangai (Lalgudy taluk, Tiruchy dist.) there is an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Tribhuvanaviradeva (Kulottunga III =A.D. 1216) on the base of the central shrine of Adimula Perumal (A.R.no. 145 of 1928–29). From it we learn that the *brick* portion of the *vimana* above the *adhishthana* became dilapidated; and when the temple was rebuilt, it was noticed that there was an inscription of the second year of Rajarajakesari-varman (A.D. 987) on the *jagadippadai;* and the old inscription was ordered to be re-engraved "as far as decipherable" on the walls of the newly-built temple.

I may add that the term *padai* (or *anga* in Sanskrit) is used in inscriptions not only for a *moulding* but also for a *layer* of a part of the temple structure. This will be evident from a number of South Indian inscriptions. I shall cite one instance. An inscription (on the south wall of the Mulesvarar temple at Bahur) of the 26th year of Kannaradeva (= A.D. 946) mentions a gift of four stones for "*this padai*" by Nandi Nakkan Sankaran (*ippadaikku* vachcha kallu nalu; SII, VII, no. 799; A.R. no. 172 of 1902).

In that case, the *kuddappadai* may also mean the layer below the *stupik kudam.*

Recently, we have come across another architectural term *kapotappadai* used in a Pandyan inscription of the 13th century. It mentions a gift for worship and offerings and for the building of a Vishnu (Perumal) temple *in stone* up to the *Kapotappadai,* the topmost member or *layer* of the first *tala*(*Kapotam;* A.R. no. 591 of 1962–63). Similar future discoveries may throw more light on this subject.

Further, Barrett holds the view that the Tiruvaduturai temple had a simple (Phase I) plan till A.D.940 and that a more ambitious plan came to be evolved and adopted about A.D.940. If so, inscriptions of Parantaka I's from his second to the 39th regnal years become

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meaningless. There cannot be two plans for the same sanctum. If the original plan of the sanctum is interfered with, it will offend orthodoxy. Hence it is that later benefactors and philanthropists either added new shrines to, or enlarged, the original temples in the centres of great antiquity and celebrity and made them temple-cities as we find in Srirangam, Tiruvarur and Chidambaram.

Further even in case of *misra* temples, the *upa-pitha,* the *adhishthana* and pillars are of stone and the superstructure of brick and chunam. The Vidya Vinita Pallavanesvaragriham built at Kuram in the days of Pallava Paramesvaravarman I (see Kuram Plates) and the Sundaravarada Perumal temple built at Uttaramerur in the days of Pallava Dantivarman belong to this class. But no where do we find a temple built of stone only upto the *kumudap-padai*—one of the lowest mouldings of the *adhishthana*—rebuilt later on of stone on the earlier foundation. A structure only up to the *kumudappadai* would hardly be considered a temple.

There is one more feature of the Tiruvaduturai temple that deserves mention. The central person engaged in the construction of this temple is no doubt Karrali Pichchan, whose recorded gifts are found spread over a long period from the 3rd to the 39th regnal year of Parantaka I (A.D. 910 to 946). He must have been either an influential courtier or a saintly character interested in religious works. In addition to Karrali Pichchan's own gifts and the magnificent contribution made by the king himself, there are gifts from at least five more donors who claim the credit of having built *parts* of the central shrine and their portraits with labels are found on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa.* The temple should have been built about A.D. 932 (25th year of Parantaka I) *eight years before the* ushering in of Barrett's Phase II of

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Early Chola Art (A.D. 940) to which phase he assigns the date of the beginning of the construction of this temple. The moving spirit behind the building of this temple should have been Karrali Pichchan inspired by religious fervour and unparalleled devotion.

I have already stated in Early Chola Art Part I (pp. 253–256) that temple building was always in a state of dynamic development throughout the Chola period, new experiments were tried almost in every reign, especially in the Early Chola period. The existence of a high *plinth,* the erection of a *'false antarala'* and the installation of *Agastyar* as an additional *devakoshta* figure are no doubt new features found here, but they cannot be considered basic factors for the enunciation of a new phase of style. In that case every reign of the Early Chola period should be considered a new phase.

Further, I do not find any justification for postulating *three* Phases of artistic style in the Early Chola period. It may be added that Barrett himself is in two minds about his theory as will be evident from his own sound conclusion stated earlier in his book (p.4) that he would call "the *art of the first three reigns* Phase I or in compliment of the king responsible for the great period of Temple building activity, the *Aditya I phase*".

Temples of the Age of Sundara Chola

Five temples have been identified as those which could be ascribed to the age of Sundara Chola.

The central shrine and the *ardhamandapa* of the temple of Tiruttindisvara devar at *Gidangil*—modern Tindivanam—belonged to this age. The Kalabhattari temple at Velachcheri is an independent Saptamatrika temple of the early Chola period, like that at Alambakkam. The Siva temple in this place called that of Tirukkarrali Mahadevar of Tiruttandisvaram—modern Dondisvaram (Velachcheri)—is also of this age.

The Vishnu temple of Varadarajapperumal at Minjur

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called in the past that of *Sola-Kula-Sundara-Vinnagar-Alvar* is a dated temple of the 3rd year of Sundara Chola's days; but its recent renovation has spoiled its value as an important dated early Chola temple.

But the grandest temple of Sundara Chola's days and one of the finest of the early Chola monuments is the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur. Kodumbalur is 23 miles (37 km.) south of Tiruchy and 25 miles from Pudukkottai town. It is an ancient city of great renown. It lay on the great highway between the ancient Pandya and Chola capitals. It was a city of temples, and tradition says that 108 temples existed here. Among them the Tiru-Muchukundesvaram and the Muvarkoyil are two early Chola temples that have survived to this day in a fair state of preservation. Here was also another temple of the days of Aditya I, called *Tiruppudisvaram* but it has gone out of existence; its only relic is an inscribed pillar used in the construction of a later *mandapa* in front of the temple of Tirumuchukundesvaram. The temple of *Tirumuchukundesvaram,* called in the past, according to the inscriptions relating to this temple, *Tiru-mudukunram Udaiyar* temple is said to have been built by one Mahimalaya Irukkuvel in the 14th year of Parantaka I. He is also the builder of the temple of Sittur.

Muvarkoyil

The age of Muvarkoyil is a matter of keen controversy. The term Muvarkoyil designates the temple of *three shrines* of which only two have survived.

Each of these two shrines has a *garbhagriha* which is a square 21 ft. (6.4 m) side. The *ardhamandapa* is 18ft. (5.5 m.) square. It is roofless. There are traces of a *mukhamandapa* (91 ft. by 41 ft.—27.7m. by 12.5 m.), the *nandimandapa,* the *balipitham* and the *dhvajasthambham.* There are traces of about fifteen (or sixteen?) subshrines with a *madil* enclosing all of them.

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A description of this monument will be found elsewhere. Plastic art may be said to have attained in this age a very high degree of excellence and the sculptures on the *vimanas* of the two existing shrines are among the finest products of Dravidian Art (Pls. 93-102).

Aintali

On the south-east of the Muvarkoyil was a temple known as Aintali, another distinct type of temple belonging to the class called the *Panchayatana*. Such types of temples are found in Northern, Central and Eastern India. This seems to be the only specimen known to us in South India. Unfortunately it is in ruins. Only the common platform with the basement of a central shrine and of four shrines at the four corners could be seen now.

Temples of the Age of Aditya II

Punjai-Naltunai Isvaram

The temple of Naltunai Isvaram called in the past according to the local inscriptions, *Tiru-nani-Palli Udaiyar* temple should also be ascribed to the period of Sundara Chola, as Aditya II ruled only as coregent for five years before his death at the hands of assassins. The earliest inscription in this temple is one of "Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya" i.e. Aditya II. It is found not on the walls of the central shrine, but on the subshrine of Chandesvarar. And the earliest inscription on the walls of the main shrine is one of the 22nd year of Rajaraja I, in whose time the *mukhamandapa* called *Mummudi Sola mandapa* or *Perambalam* was constructed.

The temple faces the east. The *garbhagriha* is a square. An *antarala* with a gateway connects the *ardhamandapa* with the *mukhamandapa* of the days of Rajaraja I.

The *devakoshtas* are adorned with *makara toranas* at the top with sculptures in the pediment.

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The *devakoshta* figures are Ganesa, Agastyar, Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice, and a *yali* frieze above. The cornice is adorned with *kudus* and with central and edge scrolls.

There are 64 panels of *miniature-sculptures* on the walls of this temple, as in the temple of Kilur, Tirukkandiyur, Nagesvaram, Pullamangai and other early Chola temples.

The temple is undergoing repairs. The *sikhara* made of brick and stucco is round and modern.

Temples of the age of Uttama Chola

Next, we pass on to another period of vigorous temple building activities under the personal care and attention of Sembiyan Mahadevi or under her inspiration. We have identified so far twenty-one temples either built or renovated by her. Of these, the most outstanding is the temple of Umamahesvarar of *Konerirajapuram* called in the past *Tirunallam* built by her as a memorial to her husband Gandaraditya during the reign of her son Uttama Chola.

Konerirajapuram (*3rd year or earlier*)

The deity of the temple of Umamahesvarar was called *Umaikkunallan* —'*Siva dear* to Uma'. The *old* temple had been in existence in the seventh century A.D. as the Tamil saint Appar has sung hymns on this Lord. But, it should have been rebuilt of stone sometime before the third year of Uttama Chola as we have a record of a grant of land for a flower garden made in that year by Sembiyan Mahadevi. Further lavish gifts were made by the king at the request of his mother to this temple built in the sacred name of her husband the glorious Gandaraditya whose portrait-sculpture in the posture of his offering worship at the holy feet

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of the Lord of Tirunallam was set up by her on the south wall of the central shrine with an explanatory inscription below (Pls. 167-168 and also jacket).

There is also a portrait-sculpture of the builder of this stone temple one Sattan Ganabhattan *alias* Hara-Charana Sekharan of Alattur who, in appreciation of his services in the building of this temple, was honoured with the conferment of the title of *Rajakesari Muvenda Velan*. The portraits are not of high artistic merit.

The temple faces the west. The *garbhagriha* is a square 20 ft. (6.0 m.) side. There is the *antarala* (with a grille) between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa,* which projects forward 20 ft. (6.0 m.). The plinth has plain mouldings. The *devakoshtas* have *Agastya,* Ganesa, *Nataraja* and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the east, and Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Durga and *Ardhanarisvarar* in the north.

There is a covered verandah, resting on stone pillars and running round the main temple. This is called in an inscription *Tiru-nadai-maligai.* There is a later *mukhamandapa.* Perhaps this is the *Pugalabharana mandapa* mentioned in an inscription of Kulottunga III. The *sikhara* is octagonal and curvilinear but it is a reconstruction of recent times following the original pattern.

This is the first of a new type of temples with the stamp of its builder Sembiyan Mahadevi impressed on it.

Provision is made for special worship of *Tripura-Vijayam* (Tripurantakamurti : Pl. 171), *Rishabhavahanar* and *Ganapatiyar* metal images set up by her in the temple in or before the 8th year of Uttama Chola. To this group of bronzes we may add Bhogesvari (*Bhoga sakti*: Pl. 173). These are a few important *dated metals* of the early Chola period belonging to the period of Uttama Chola. There are a few more metals of

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exquisite workmanship. The next important temple of this age is the Kailasanathasvamin temple built by Sembiyan Mahadevi in the new village created by her and named after her. Lavish gifts and endowments were made to this temple by all the members of the royal family. An account of the other temples built by her will be found in the section on the temples of Uttama Chola's time.

THE SEMBIYAN STYLE

From this survey, we find that there is a regular and continuous line of gradual development of the architectural features without any violent change from the days of Vijayalaya and Aditya I down to the time of Uttama Chola. We have already described the chief features of the *Aditya style* which marks the *first stage* of development of Dravidian Art and Architecture during the early Chola period.

The next stage is reached in the days of Uttama Chola. It consists in the provision of a larger number of *devakoshta* figures. They were three to five from Pallava times to the days of Parantaka I. The Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur built by Vikrama Kesari in the days of Sundara Chola (latter part of the 10th century A.D.) is a kind by itself. Its triple shrines and 15 (or sixteen) subshrines are unique features. Temples built by Sembiyan Mahadevi or under her inspiration had *devakoshtas* with deities ranging from *nine* to *sixteen*. Tiruppurambiyam and Karuntattangudi are examples of early temples which were re-fashioned in the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi, so as to accommodate and insert the additional deities in improvised niches to the detriment of even the old inscriptions on the walls and without regard even to artistic taste but merely to satisfy the spirit of the Sembiyan age. Temples with the increased number of *devakoshta* figures can be classified as belonging to the Sembiyan style.

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The goddess in the form of a bronze image known as Bhoga Sakti or Bhogesvari continued, as in Parantaka I's days, to be installed in the *antarala* or *ardhamandapa*. Independant shrines for the goddess were yet to come into existence.

Another significant development in this period is the building of a few *apsidal temples* in the *Chola-desa proper*. The earliest apsidal temple built in the Chola *empire* is the temple of the Tirumulasthanamudaiyar built in the days of Aditya I at Tirukkalukkunram, now found in the northern *prakara* of the Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill (see E.C.A.I, pp. 220–228). This type was popular in the region of the ancient Tondaimandalam. One of this type was constructed in this region in the days of Uttama Chola. It is the temple of Masilamanisvarar at Vada-Tirumuallaivayil. It is the northernmost of the temples built by Sembiyan Mahadevi. A few of this type came to be built also in the *Chola-desa* proper. The Muyarchinadesvarar temple at Tirumiyachchur and the Tunganaimadam at Pennadam (in *Nadu-nadu*) are the best specimens of this class. Innambur in the Tanjavur district is said to have an apsidal *vimana*.

Melpadi

The earlier temple of Cholendrasimhesvaram (whose construction in stone was started in the days of Parantaka I and completed in the days of Rajaraja I) and the Arinjigai Isvaram (a *pallippadai temple* built by Rajaraja I in honour of his grand father Arinjaya) may be considered as connecting links between the early Chola temples and those of the middle Chola period (A.D 985 – 1070). Both the Rajarajesvaram built at Tanjavur by Rajaraja I (19th to 26th year) and the Arinjigai Isvaram at Melpadi (29th year of Rajaraja I) should have been built nearly about the same period.

The stimulus given to Dravidian Art and Architecture

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by the Pallavas bore fuller fruition in the early Chola period, a period as glorious as any other period of Indian art. This rich legacy remained a buried treasure to the world of scholars, because most of these splendid monuments remained so long unstudied and unpublished. The early Chola temples were comparatively humble structures unlike the gigantic and magnificent monuments of the age of Rajaraja I and of Rajendra I (the middle Chola period). But in the field of plastic art, this period was as great and glorious as any other grand period of artistic efflorescence in India. It is hoped that this pioneer study will create among scholars greater interest in Dravidian Architecture and Art.

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11 Sculpture

I Stone

Indian sculpture is valued both as an object of worship and as a work of art. More than half a century ago, there was lack of appreciation of Indian art among western scholars. In reply to the view expressed in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts by Sir George Birdwood—one who had a lot of sympathy with Indian life and things Indian—thirteen distinguished English artists, critics and students of art pointed out through a public protest (The Times, 28th February, 1910) that "they find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotions of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the Divine ..., that the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people, and which they and all who advance and respect their achievements in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love." The pioneering works of A.K. Coomaraswamy and E. B. Havell further stimulated the growing interest in and appreciation of Indian Art in the western world.

The existence of a large number of temples and cult-objects in them for worship during the Sangam age is traced at length in chapter two of my Eary Chola Art Part I. But, unfortunately, we have no evidence to assert that those original objects of worship have survived to this day.

Pallava

The Pallavas should be considered as a power who enriched that tradition by incorporating foreign influ-

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ences from other equally vital centres of *Dravidian* art at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Badami and Vengi.[1]

The Gangadhara panel in the upper cave at Tiruchy is a fine piece of art of the days of Pallava Mahendravarman I (7th century A.D.). At Mamallapuram, we have a large number of picture-galleries. The icons and portraits on the Dharmaraja and the Arjuna rathas, the two sets of royal portraits in the Adi-Varaha cave temple, the spirited battle scene in the Mahishasuramardini cave, Varaha uplifting Bhudevi in the Varaha cave, the pastoral life depicted in the Govardhana cave, and above all, the devas, men and animals (elephants, lions, monkeys and cats in different moods, postures and activities) sculptured in the 'Fresco in stone', the *Ganga-avatarana* panel (Arjuna's penance?) —these are among the grandest in art.

Chola

This great tradition is carried on to further heights of glory by the Cholas. The continuity of this movement is as much astonishing and wonderful as it is varied and widely distributed.

In spite of this rich legacy, it is surprising that so learned, assiduous and devoted a scholar as V.A. Smith makes the following observations (History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon—3rd edition p. 119) :—

"But excepting certain Chola statuary of the eleventh century, which is pre-eminently excellent, the southern figure sculpture does not often attain high quality. In quantity, it is enormous, the gigantic temples and

[1]Based on the authority of the *Brihatsamhita* of Varahamihira (6th century A.D.) and the *Kamikagama*, I use the term *Dravidian*, not confined solely to the region of the modern *Tamilnadu*, but in the original sense embracing the area of the ancient Tamils which included the region under the supremacy of the Chalukyas, both western and eastern, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Cheras and other minor powers ruling over the land *south of the Krishna*. I know that this term is not favoured by some scholars.

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halls characteristic of the Dravidian kingdoms being commonly over-loaded with sculptured ornament in every member. Mythological subjects from the Puranas and Tantras are the favourite, and the tendency is to treat the conception of a luxuriant mythology with exuberant fancy. The result too often is merely grotesque, and very few of the individual images can claim to be beautiful. The sculpture of the south is really the successor of its mediaeval art of the north. The figure sculpture is purely iconographical and executed exactly according to literary canon."

About the sculptures of the Cave Temples of Badami, V.A. Smith has remarked that they "hardly deserve the name of works of art". No wonder the editor of the second edition of the 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon', K. de B. Codrington was constrained to admit that V.A. Smith's "attitude to Brahmanical Indian art was not sympathetic."

This severe and undeserved observation would not have been made if only V.A. Smith had in his days a survey of the Early Chola temples presented in this series.

Vijayalaya

The earliest Chola sculpture is the icon of Nisumbhasudani (ECA. I, p.43, Pl.8), a broken image of perhaps the original temple of Nisumbhasudani built at Tanjavur by Vijayalaya Chola himself. It is a fine spirited image. Next, we have the Saptamatrika group of the original *parivara-alaya,* and the Nrsimha and Vinadhara images (*vimana-devatas*) of the Vijayalaya cholisvaram at Narttamalai (ECA I, Pls.13b to 17b).

Aditya I

Next in importance are the sculptures of the twin shrines of the temple of Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur : Siva (Dakshinamurti, ECA I, Pl. 57),

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Subrahmanya (standing, ECA I, Pl. 58), Subrahmanya (seated, ECA I, Pl. 60) and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (ECA I, Pl. 53) deserve mention. These along with Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti of Lalgudy (ECA I, Pl. 42) and of Tudaiyur (Suppt. to ECA I, Pl. 11), Brahma (ECA I, Pl. 47), Dakshinamurti (ECA I, Pl. 48) and some of the unidentified sculptures of the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur are some of the best productions of this age. In the sublimity of expression, the delicacy of chiselling and elegant ornamentation, they have their counterpart in the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam. The Nagesvara Ardhanari has a fitting companion in the similar figure at Tiruchchennampundi (ECA I, Pl. 2b.)

Brahma in the round at Tirukkandiyur (ECA I, Pl. 77b) is a good specimen of a grand theme. We have his companion at Sendalai, in the Tanjavur Art Gallery (from Karandai) and in front of the compound of the Collector's Office at Tanjavur.

Nalur-Mayanam can boast of a good Surya (*parivara-alaya-devata,* now in a Bombay museum) and a Lingodbhavar (*devakoshta*—ECA I, Pl. 86a and b). The Subrahmanyar of Koyiladi (ECA I, Pl. 76c), and that in the eastern *devakoshta* at Kiliyanur (ECA I, Pl. 88b) are good specimens of their class. The Harihara sculpture (western *devakoshta*, ECA I, Pl. 66) of the Adityesvaram at Tiruverumbur is a rare figure. The Vishamangalesvarar (Sri Kadambatturai Mahadevar) temple at Turaiyur has a unique combination of *devakoshta* figures, *Sarasvati,* Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (standing), *Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti*—a rare specimen—Brahma and Durga. On a pillar in the western side we have a sculpture of Nataraja in the *ananda tandava* pose (vide my article in the American Academy of Benares—Transactions of the Seminar on Indian Temple Architecture, Varanasi). The *devakoshta* images of the Tiru-vural Mahadevar temple at Takkolam—Ganesa

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(ECA I, Pl. 91), Vishnu (ECA I, Pl. 92), Dakshinamurti (ECA I, Pl. 93), Brahma (ECA I, Pl. 94) and the *dvarapalas* (ECA I, Pls. 95 and 96) represent the sculptured achievements of the *sthapathis* during the closing period of the reign of Aditya I in Tondaimandalam, far from the heartland of the traditional Chola desa. Perhaps the last phase of sculptural attainment in Aditya I's age can be seen in the *devakoshta* figures of the Tirumulasthanattup-perumanadigal at Tirukkalukkunram (ECA I, Pls. 102 (b) and 103 (a), (b) and (c)).

Parantaka I

The noblest artistic expression of Parantaka I's time is found in the *devakoshta* sculptures of the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Pullamangai; Ganapati, Durga, Lingodbhavar, and Brahma (Dakshinamurti is inaccessible) are gems of art (J.C. Harle's Pullamangai, no. 4, Heritage of India series, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay : Pls. 32–42 also).

To these should be added those of the Tiruvalandurai-Mahadevar temple at Kilappaluvur (Pls. 12–18) and the three *devakoshta* sculptures of the Kadambavanesvarar temple at Erumbur viz. Dakshinamurti, Siva-Yogi (Arunachalesvarar) and Brahma (Pls. 73, 75 and 76) and those of the Gomuktisvarar temple at Tiruvaduturai completed before the 39th regnal year of Parantaka I (Pls. 44–48).

Valuable contributions to stone art were made by Parantaka I's crown-prince Rajaditya, and his Chera general Vellan Kumaran who built the temples at Gramam and Tirunavalur.

Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai (Pls. 135–141) and the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur (Pls. 96–102) which come next in chronological order have to be assigned to the period of Sundara Chola and Aditya II. The sculptures of Pullamangai are slender and elegant resem-

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bling those of the Nagesvarar temple at Kumbakonam, whereas those of Erumbur are heavy and well-built, similar to those of Punjai.

The Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur however stands apart, and has intrigued students of art for nearly half a century. There is greater resemblance between the sculptures of Pullamangai and Kodumbalur. Viewed from the basic facts of history and Paleography, Bhuti Vikrama Kesari the builder of the Muvarkoyil, has to be assigned to the latter half of the tenth century A.D. Barrett calls it "a late lingering of (his) phase I style of art out of the main stream of development near the Chola court". Gangādhara, Kalarimurti, Gajasamharamurti and Ardhanarisvarar reveal an attractive conception of life and beauty, delightful delineation and charming flexion.

It seems reasonable to assume that there were in this period more than one school of art following different traditions. The temples of Nagesvarasvamin (at Kumbakonam) the Koranganathar temple at Srinivasanallur, the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Pullamangai and the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur may form one group; and those of the Kadambavanesvarar at Erumbur, the Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai and the Karkotaka Isvaram at Kamarasavalli (Pls. 104–128) another group.

Uttama Chola

The last phase of the Early Chola period is represented by the stone-sculptures of the period of Uttama Chola when under the inspiration and guidance of his queen-mother Sembiyan Mahadevi, great encouragement was given to temple-building and to the art of sculpture. Now metal images received greater attention and patronage with the result that stone-images became stereotyped and lost much of their individuality and originality of the earlier period.

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II Bronzes

In ancient India, metallic images were made of gold, silver, copper, brass and alloys, and western scholars have used the term bronzes as a blanket description of the whole class. Metal-casting in India goes back to remote antiquity. It is an epic in itself. However, we have to admit that there were alternate periods of growth and decline but its continuity throughout the historical period is well attested. So it is not possible to agree with the extreme view that "the classical movement in bronze and stone sculpture, the period of most original achievement lasted little more than a century and a half from about A.D. 850 to the early decades of the eleventh century A.D." (Barrett, ECB, Preface p. vii).

The bronze of the dancer found at Mohenjo Daro (B.C. 3000–2500), the figure of the Mother-goddess (about B.C. 1000) found at Adichanallur in the Tirunelveli district in the extreme south of India, the Buddhist icons found at Buddhapad near Guntur, the Hindu and Buddhist images discovered at Nagarjunakonda, the Melaiyur Maitreya (Madras Government Museum), the Vishapaharana of Kilappudanur and the Tiruvalangadu Somaskanda maintain the continuity of the tradition in metal casting, though there may be some gaps or missing links.

F.H. Gravely and T.N. Ramachandran declared long ago (1932) that "no Hindu metal image is known that can definitely be proved to be Pallava" (page 25, Madras Museum Catalogue); and Douglas Barrett declares (ECB, 1965) that he would be inclined in general to support the views put forward by the authors of the Catalogue "that no known bronze has a clear and unequivocal claim to a Pallava date and provenance". However, it may be added that Ramachandran himself is inclined to revise his earlier view; as will be evident

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from his review of South Indian Bronzes by Sivaramamurti in the Marg (Vol. XVII No. 1–July 1964). He writes :—

"Noteworthy are the efforts of the author (C.S.) to prove the existence of Pallava bronzes though it would be difficult to give them as early a date as A.D. 600–800" and adds "What Sivaramamurti calls *Pallava* were characterised by the earlier writers as those stylistically falling in the transition period when the Pallavas were receding and early Chola was appearing." He admits that this revision is called for, as much new material and literature have come to light since 1932. We welcome this open-minded approach. We have at the same time to admit that there is so far no *dated* bronze of the Pallava period, and the distinction between later Pallava and early Chola is difficult to establish on the basis of scientific evidence.

Chakra and Sanka

A false step of the authors of the Catalogue was the absolute acceptance of the tentative conclusions of G.J. Dubreuil (in his Archaeology of Indian Iconography—Catalogue pp. 22–23) regarding the dating of sculptures based on the evolution of Vishnu's *Chakra* and *Sanka*. No doubt, the form, the mode of holding them and their decorations are true up to a point in respect of certain images at a particular point of time, but it is its generalization that has caused the difficulty and confusion.

The Vishnu images attributed to the 8th–9th centuries A.D. (C.S. Pls. 10 a and b, 11 a and 11 c—South Indian Bronzes) have the flames on their *chakra* and *sanka* in such a variety of forms and positions that they defy the conclusions of Dubreuil blindly followed by the authors of the Catalogue.

The images of Vishnu and Vaishnavi of the temple of Virattanesvaram at Tiruttani have flames

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in both *chakra* and *sanka* (in the form of an inverted comma) whereas Dubreuil introduces flames to these weapons only in the 10th century A.D.

In respect of Vishnu and Durga of the temple at Gramam built in the days of Parantaka I, Barrett admits that the *chakra* carried by Vishnu is edge-on to the spectator, and Durga's is half turned to the spectator (ECB, p. 6).

While the authors of the Catalogue correctly recognized that "there is nothing to show whether any particular stage in the development can be recognized as characteristic of any particular period", still they classified the bronzes of the Madras Museum on these conclusions of Dubreuil. They state (p. 25, Catalogue): "In the Pallava period from about 600 to 800 A.D., these (conch and discus) are held between the thumb and forefinger of the closed hand and are without flames or other decorations. During the 9th century they came to be held between the raised first and second fingers, but are still undecorated. In the 10th century, flames first appear. Upto this time, the discus is held with one of its flat faces turned towards Vishnu, but by the 13th century, it is held obliquely and by the 15th with its edge towards Vishnu."

Yajnopavita

The *yajnopavita* passing over the right forearm of an image was considered a distinct *Pallava* feature. There are Pallava sculptures of the 7th–8th century without this feature. On the other hand, there are three Chola sculptures of the tenth century which have this feature, namely Dakshinamurti of Erumbur (A.D. 935) and Chandesvarar of Tiruvaduturai (A.D. 932) and of Punjai (A.D. 955–960). So this cannot be a distinctive feature to fix the age of a sculpture.

In recent years great progess in the dating of bronzes has no doubt taken place, thanks to the discovery and

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study of dated and datable bronzes. Nevertheless, there is great disparity in dating even among experts. The images of Venugopal and his consorts from Chimakurti are ascribed to the 10th–11th century by Sivaramamurti (SIB, Pl. 4–a), to the 11th–12th century by N. Ramesan (Lalit Kala No. 13) and to A.D. 1600 by P.R. Srinivasan (BSI, Fig. 279).

Let us take another example. Parvati of Tiruvelvikkudi (SIB, Fig. 80–a) is ascribed to the 16th century perhaps because of the folds in the abdomen. This figure may be compared with Parvati of the Haridas Swali collection (SIB, Fig. 68–a) which is described as Late Chola (12th century A.D.). These two may be compared with Nataraja's consort from Peruntottam (ECB, Pl. 29).

Maitreya of Melaiyur of the Madras Museum is yet another case in point. It is assigned to the 8th–9th century by Sivaramamurti (SIB, Figs. 12 b and c) while Barrett would place it in the middle of the 10th century A.D. (ECB, p.42).

Hence it seems to me that there is much weight and wisdom in the shrewd observations of Hadaway :—

"It is not a simple matter to compare the metal with the stone images of known date and to deduce from similarities of treatment, details of ornament etc, a corresponding similarity in age. It requires not only much intuitive artistic insight, but also what is extremely rare, a thorough knowledge both of stone working and metal working, and the difference in technique of the two, combined in a single individual. Certainly no one who has yet written on this subject has possessed this unique combination of knowledge.... It becomes evident that details of ornamental treatment are by no means a safe guide to age, and we may find images of modern times with all the characteristics of work of the 10th century or earlier, in either stone or metal. It is a common mistake among modern critics to rely to the

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extent they do on superficial similarities of treatment or detail. One can find occasionally modern work in the spirit of the old, and conversely, old work which might have been executed quite recently.... I do not hesitate to say that there have been no authentic data brought forward, by which one could date one of these images with accuracy. Hitherto, the dating of the South Indian images has been fancy or speculation which could be considered in no other light than as guess-work, pure and simple." (p. 21—Madras Museum Catalogue; Rupam—1922 pp. 59–61).

It is therefore imperative that modern scholars exercise greater care and attention to this problem, and be less dogmatic in their approach. It is gratifying that such an attitude is already in evidence.

We have had recently three standard books on South Indian Bronzes from three scholars viz. (1) South Indian Bronzes by C. Sivaramamurti, Lalit Kala Academy, New Delhi, 1963, (2) Bronzes of South India by P.R. Srinivasan, a Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, 1963 and (3) Early Cola Bronzes by Douglas Barrett, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1965. Each is complementary to the other.[2] After this exhaustive treatment, I shall rest satisfied with merely grouping the bronzes, the most typical of them, in a series, set in a chronological order.

i Group

(Late Pallava and Early Chola - Age of Vijayalaya) (A.D. 785 – 871)

In the first group, I shall include those which could be assigned to the late Pallava period (Dantivarman

[2](1)A critical review of the three publications under the title of 'The chronology of South Indian Bronzes' by Karl Kandalavala is published in Lalit Kala No. 14. (2) The view expressed by N.N. Ray in the section on Art in Volume V, Struggle for Empire, in the series 'History and Culture of the Indian People' (p. 672) needs considerable revision.

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to Kampavarman, A.D. 785 – 910) and the early Chola period covering the reign of Vijayalaya (A.D. 850–871). This will cover nearly a century (A.D. 785 – 871) upto the accession of Aditya I. The order in which the bronzes are dealt with should not be considered as being strictly chronological.

(i) *Vishapaharanar*, Kilappudanur - Madras Museum, (Pls.6 and 7 (a), C.S.)

(ii) *Vishnu, Tiruchcherai* (ECB, Pls. 47–48)

The conical *jathamakuta* adorned with *Karoti-ratna-bandam,* the *datura* flower and the crescent, two *kanthis,* a cobra over the front right shoulder, the thick *Yajnopa-vita* with three strands, the main strand passing over the right forearm, a thick *udara-bandha,* and the *mrga* and the *parasu* in the rear hands, the cobra and the poison cup in the front hands, heavy *keyuras* and *valayas,* the *katisutra* with many bands and a central lion-clasp and side bows, the *bhadrapitha,* the *siraschakra* with a rim enclosing the lotus petals, curly *jathas* falling over the nape - these are special features of this Vishapaharana bronze from Kilappudanur now preserved in the Madras Museum. Sivaramamurti calls it one of the masterpieces of South Indian metal sculptures and assigns it to the 8th - 9th century A.D.; John Irwin to the 9th-10th century; Srinivasan places it in the second half of the 9th century, and Barrett between A.D. 940 and 950.

Barrett discusses the resemblance between this bronze and the Tiruchcherai Vishnu (ECB, p. 35 and Pls. 47 and 48). He states : "The two figures resemble each other closely in the treatment of necklaces, arm-bands and girdle and in the disposition of draperies. Both have the same type of perforated *chakra* behind the head". The *bhadra-pitha* in the two cases is similar. We may assign both of them to the 9th century A.D.

(i) *Vishnu,* Madras Museum (SIB, Pl. 12 (a) & colour Pl. A).

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(ii) Two *Vishnu* images of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Sivaramamurti calls the Madras Museum Vishnu "a truly fine image with all Pallava features". It has the *Srivatsa* mark on the chest and he assigns it to the 8th century A.D. The two Vishnu bronzes of the Prince of Wales Museum are placed a little later, 8th – 9th century A.D.

Somaskanda, Madras Museum (SIB, Pls. 13 a & b).

The Somaskanda bronze from Tiruvalangadu (it is not Tiruvelangadu) is "the most beautiful of all surviving Somaskanda groups". The Skanda is missing. The presence of *Sula* and *Kapala* in such a group is noteworthy. The *bhadra-pitha* is original; The early cup-like *siraschakra* with a central knob, the jewelled delicate crown of the goddess and her diaphanous drapery deserve mention. It has been assigned to the 9th century (C.S.), to the second half of the 9th century (P.R.S.) and to the period A.D. 930 to 950 or even later (by Barrett). I would assign it to the 9th century A.D.

Closely allied to this is the Sukhasana of Kilaiyur, now in the Tanjavur Art Gallery (SIB, Pl. 37 a).

Tripurantakar

(i) Gautam Sarabhai collection (SIB, Pls. 8 a & b)
(ii) Tandantottam (Lalit Kala No. 10)

The first stands majestically with a pair of arms and is typically 'Pallava'. Sivaramamurti says that the delicacy of the contours, the pose, the subtle smile, the simple *jatha* with sparse ornamentation "combine to make this splendid bronze unique among the metal images of the Pallava Period."

Barrett (ECB, p. 34) would place it between A.D. 850 and 940, the period covering his phase I. I wonder how he claims similarity between this bronze and the stone sculpture of Brahma of Pullamangai.

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The Tandantottam bronze is published by Nagaswamy. He identifies it as Vinadhara; but it may as well be identified as Tripurantaka, especially as there is a Tripurasundari in this group (BSI. Pls. 65 & 66 & pp. 116 – 120).

Nataraja

(i) Kuram (ii) Nallur

The Kuram Nataraja is considered the earliest Pallava bronze on this theme. It was unearthed in a great centre of Pallava art. It is in *urdhva-jhanu* pose (not *urdhva tandava* pose as mentioned by Barrett in ECB, pp. 39 & 40). The *jathamakuta* has features as in Pallava sculptures. It has *nagapasa* instead of fire in the upper hand. Sivaramamurti assigns it to the 8th – 9th century and Srinivasan to about the third quarter of the 9th century. Barrett holds that "on the present evidence, I would *not be* prepared to date the Kuram Nataraja earlier than the second half of the 10th century A.D."

Nallur Nataraja can be placed next to the Kuram Nataraja. It is in *chatura* pose and is eight-armed, a unique feature in the Tamil land. The ends of the girdle and the flower-ornament of the head are welded to the *prabha* which is adorned with three-pronged flames. The *siraschakra* has lotus petals without the rim. Curled *jathas* adorn both the shoulder and the nape. There is a pipal-shaped pendant over the right shoulder joint. The left leg is bent and the right leg is placed on a sitting, front-facing demon. Sivaramamurti calls it a Pallava image of the 9th century A.D. Barrett holds that it should be assigned to the period "about A.D.900 or a little later." Srinivasan (BSI, Pls. 51 and 52 and pp.84 – 87) assigns it to about the beginning of the 10th century and considers Kandalavala's date for this bronze, namely late 8th century or early 9th century, as '*too early*'.

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Subrahmanyar (*Tandantottam*)

In Lalit Kala No. 10, Nagaswamy publishes an excellent bronze of Subrahmanyar from Tandantottam. The general features are in the manner of Pallava images. He is four-armed and holds *vajra* and *sakti* in the rear hands. He wears *karandamakuta* and *channavira*. The *siraschakra,* the *jathas* falling over the nape, the *padmapitha* resting on the *bhadra-pitha* are all early features. The central loop, the bands of the girdle, the bows and tapering ends of the *katisutra,* the tassels of the upper garment falling outside close to the legs -- all proclaim an early date (Pl.147). This seems to be the successor of the stone images of Brahma-Sasta found in the Dharmaraja Ratha and the Trimurti cave at Mamallapuram, and the predecessor of the Subrahmanyar image (*devakoshta*) of the Agastyes-varam at Kilaiyur (ECA, I. Fig. 58) and the exquisite figure on this theme found at Tittagudi with an early *karanda makuta* (ECA I, Pl. 114).

The *Maitreya* of the Madras Museum and the *Simha-nanda* from Nagapattinam, also of the Madras Museum will fall in this group (SIB, Pls 12 b & c and 14–c).

ii Group

Age of Aditya I (A.D. 871–907)

We shall next consider a group of bronzes which could be attributed to the age of Aditya I. In this group the Vishnu (Srinivasa) of Paruttiyur (not Piraiyu-thur, ECB, p. 25) holds the pride of place. The figure is in *Samabhanga* posture. There are flames on the conch and the discus. The *pitambaram* is worn in the *hasti-saundika* fashion. The ends of the garment fall in a fine bunch on either side of the legs. He wears *kanthis*; and the *yajnopavita* is in three strands. There are curly *jathas* falling on the nape. There are a median loop in front, bows and tassels on the sides and a clasp in the *kati.*

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Then come the bronzes of Rama, Sita and Krishna of Tiruchcherai (ECB. Pls. 43–46 and 95–96). Barrett assigns Rama to the 10th century and claims that Rama is a bronze of great authority. Sita wears her hair in the form of the loose bun of the Pallavanesvaram and the Metropolitan Museum pieces. This set of Rama is earlier than that of Vadakkuppanaiyur in the Madras Museum. Tiruchcherai Rama has the trellis pattern decoration. It may be that this form of decoration might have had its origin earlier than the age of Sembiyan Mahadevi.

The Kaliya-Krishna (SIB. Pl. 44 b) of N.Y. Sastri collection, Adayar may be placed in this group. We may include in this group Uma and Skanda of Pallavanesvaram (SIB. Pl. 99), the Somaskanda of Sivapuram (BSI. Pl. 92) and of Tandantottam (Lalit Kala No. 10) and Subrahmanyar of Kilaiyur (SIB. Pl. 45 b).

Nataraja Cult

There is some misconception about the origin of the Nataraja cult and the date of the creation of the sculpture of Nataraja in the *ananda tandava* form. It is stated: "It was probably during the time of Parantaka I that the *very first sample in stone* of the *ananda tandava* form of Nataraja was created" (BSI. p. 145, also Roopa Lekha XXVI and XXVII).

The *Sri Tatva Nidhi* quotes the *Karana Agama* and describes seven kinds of dance. The first concerns the *ananda tandava* form. Nataraja has four arms, three eyes and spreading *jathas*. He is to be decorated with peacock feathers, *dundura* flower, the *crescent* and the *Gangai, Karna patra, makara kundala, yajnopavita,* tiger's skin, *padasara* with *kimkinis* on the legs, *abhaya hastha* and *damaru*. The right leg is to be bent and planted on Apasmara. The left leg in *gaja hasta* form is turned towards the up-lifted left foot.

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In addition, other *Tandava* forms viz. Sandiya, Uma, Gauri, Kalika, Tripura and Samhara are described.

The *Kasyapa Silpa* mentions 18 kinds of dance and deals specifically with 9 of them. The first form is elaborately described with iconometric details - four arms, *agni*, *damaru*, *abhaya hasta* (with *sarpa valaya*) and *danda hasta*. The *jathas* may be 5, 6, 7, 9 and 11. The *jatha makuta* is to be adorned with *karoti-ratna-bandam* (skull adorned with precious stones). He wears the tiger's skin and *padasara*. The ends of the *udarabandha* are to be attached to the *prabha mandala* and decorated with three-tongued flames. The left leg is to be placed on Apasmara who is to play with a snake in his left hand and a knife in his right hand. His head is to be turned towards the earth. Uma is to stand on the left.

The second variety has to provide an additional feature - *Gangai* on the right *jatha*. Hence this form is called *Janhaviyurtam* (Nataraja adorned with Gangai).

The fifth variety is to have its right leg lifted up to the right ear (Urdhva-tandava?).

According to other descriptions, Nataraja may stand on either leg, and the planted leg may be placed on Apasmara or rest on the *pitha* itself.

The *Silpa Ratna* describes nine kinds of this icon more or less on the same lines.

The *Bharata Natya Sastra* describes 108 *karanas* and forms of Tandava poses. These forms are represented in stone sculptures in the round in the second tier of the *garbhagriha* of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur built in the days of Rajaraja I.

The *Karana* poses are also sculptured with descriptive labels on the east *gopuram* of the Sarangapani temple at Kumbakonam (late Chola period) and on the two inner sides of the gateway of the east and west *gopurams* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (Later Chola – Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II).

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T. A. Gopinatha Rao has tried to identify some of the Tandava forms—Chaturam, Katisaman, Lalitam, Talasampotita etc.

The Tamil epic *Silappadikaram* mentions a number of *dances* associated with Siva, Vishnu, Durga, Muruga, and Krishna but their identification is not yet established.

Without attempting the larger question of the origin of the Nataraja-cult and its beginnings, it may be stated that there was a phase of the widespread Hindu revival in the sixth century A.D. We have early sculptures of dancing Siva at Badami, Aihole, Udayagiri (near Nellore), Elephanta and Ellora—the western and northern parts of the ancient Dravida desa.

Chidambaram evolved the *ananda tandava* form of the Nataraja-cult and so it was its original home. It was the dance of bliss to bestow divine grace on Vyagrapada and Patanjali, a repetition of the original dance of Siva to humble the heretical rishis of the Daruka forest. On this was super-imposed the Kali cult according to which Siva humbled Kali by enacting the *Urdhva tandava* form of dance originally associated with Tiruvalangadu.

Tirumular of legendary fame and the author of *Tirumandiram* describes the Ananda-Tillai-Kuttu (stanzas 2749 - 2803). He is to be assigned to the 6th century A.D. Appar and Sambandar (7th century A.D.) have glorified the ecstatic dance of Tillai-Nataraja. It seems that the *ananda tandava* form of dancing is also known as *Nadanta Natanam* and *Bhujanga trasa*. Appar uses the latter expression (Puyangan) in his *Devaram* hymns of Chidambaram. Therefore it is difficult to accept the theory that this *ananda tandava* form in stone was created only in the period of Parantaka I, three or four centuries after the inauguration and practice of this cult at Chidambaram.

In the Pallava period, we have on a pillar of a cave-temple at Siyamangalam the Bhujanga-trasa form

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of Nataraja. The left hand is in *lola hasta* instead of *gaja-hasta*. There is a dancing Siva image in the second *tala* of the Dharmaraja Ratha at Mamallapuram. Siva-Tandava sculptures are found in panels in the temples at Tirukkandiyur and Srinivasanallur. The temple of Vishamangalesvaram at Turaiyur (Tudaiyur) of the days of *Aditya I* has on a pillar a sculpture of the *ananda tandava* form of Nataraja. (ECA I, Suppt. Pl. 15). The Gomuktesvarar temple at Tiruvaduturai of the time of Parantaka I has the sculpture of Nataraja in his *ananda tandava* form in the centre of the *makara torana* over the *devakoshta* of Dakshinamurti. At Pullamangai, there is a base panel of dancing Siva. In temples built or rebuilt by Sembiyan Mahadevi, we have this figure in one of the *devakoshtas*. The non-availability of such icons in stone at present before the days of Parantaka I should not rule out the possibility of their earlier existence. It should be considered a gap in our knowledge rather than in the art. We have one of Aditya I's days. There is enough circumstantial evidence for the existence of Nataraja in his *ananda tandava* form at least from the 6th century A.D., if not earlier.

Gangai-Poondan

While on this subject, I would like to dispel another misconception relating to the depiction of *Gangai* on the *jatha* of Nataraja. It is held that it was a deliberate innovation introduced by Rajendra Chola I to mark his conquest of the Ganga region. As an expression of gratitude to his family deity, Nataraja of Chidambaram, he is alleged to have ordered, after his grand victory, and to commemorate it, the sculptors of his kingdom to adorn the Nataraja images, produced then and thereafter, with the figure of Gangai on the *jatha*. Hence Nataraja became *Gangai-Poondan* (He who wears the Gangai).

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This novel theory is devoid of any foundation. We have already stated that according to the *Agamas* and the *Silpa-Sastras,* the attachment of Ganga-bhattari was optional. Further, there is epigraphical evidence for the inclusion of Ganga-bhattari on the *jatha* of the bronze of Adavallan set up by Rajaraja I in his Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur (Inscription, SII II, no. 42). No doubt, Gangai is now absent in the bronze but the identity of the image is well established. The Gangai was a mere attachment and might have fallen off as a result of the wear and tear in the course of the centuries of its existence.

To the Nataraja bronze at Punjai, Tanjavur district, a gift was made in the 22nd year of Rajaraja I. This bronze has Gangai on the *jatha.* Hence the theory of Gangai-Poondan is untenable and has to be given up (BSI, p. 258).

To the period of Aditya I, I would assign the following Natarajas :—

1. *Okkur* - SIB. Pl. 22 (a); BSI. Pls. 88–89. and p. 141.
2. *Sivapuram* - SIB. Pl. 84; P.R.S. Lalit Kala No. 5 & BSI. Pl. 93.
3. *Tandantottam* - Lalit Kala No. 10, R Nagaswamy; BSI. Pl. 71.
4. *Tiruvarangulam* - SIB. Pl.16.
5. *Kilakkadu* - ECA I, Pl. 113.

The Nataraja bronzes in the *ananda tandava* pose attain their perfection in those created by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. M. Auguste Rodin, one of the greatest of the world artists of the modern age, has gone into an ecstatic dream over the skill and achievements of the South Indian *stapathis* in the creation of this exalted theme. He describes in glowing terms every part of the divine form; and on looking at the face of Siva, he exclaims, "In the elegance, there is grace; above the

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grace there is modelling; all approach very much something which one may call sweet, and then the words fail us!"

In the artistic renaissance of today, the modern *stapathis* have to remember that they are the heirs of such a rich legacy.

iii Group

Age of Parantaka I (A.D. 907 – 950)

We have epigraphical evidence for the setting up of bronzes in temples in the period of Parantaka I onwards, but every case of installation is not authenticated.[3]

1. *Rishabhavahanar*

In spite of the doubts entertained by Barrett (Early Cola Bronzes p. 11), I hold that the main parts of the temple - the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* -

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[3]1. Tiruverumbur—consecration of Uma-Bhattaraki (A.R. No. 108 of 1914).
2. Tiruchchorrutturai—consort of Vitankar, 11th year, Parantaka I (A.R. No. 173 of 1930–31).
3. Tiruppunturutti—
   (a) Sanivila festival of the goddess, 4th year, Parantaka I (No. 76 of 1930–31).
   (b) Gift to the image of Trailokya Sundarar, 20th year, Parantaka I (No. 92 of 1930–31).
   (c) Silver image of Amaraganayarchita, 33rd year, Parantaka I (No. 75 of 1930–31).
4. Tiruvilakkudi—lamp to Kutta-Perumal, 6th year, Parakesari (No. 121 of 1926).
5. Koyil-Tevarayanpettai—Rishabhavahana Perumal, 37th and 38th year, Parantaka I (No. 265 of 1923).
6. Tiruvengadu—
   (a) Ganapati, 5th year, Aditya II.
   (b) Gold image of Chandrasekharar, 6th year, Rajaraja I (444 of 1918—SII. XIII, 144).
   (c) Other dated bronzes—in the reigns of Rajaraja I (114 of 1896, SII. V, 978) & Rajadhiraja I.
7. Tiruvaduturai—List of vessels and images presented to the temple (104 and 117 of 1925).
8. Govindaputtur—Kutta Perumal and Uma Bhattaraki, 7th year, Rajaraja I (163 of 1929).
9. Nangavaram—Uma-Bhattaraki, 12th year, Parantaka I (332 of 1903; SII. VIII, 641).
10. Tirunavalur—Kutta-Perumal, 21st year of Rajaraja I (368 of 1902; SII. VII, 998).

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of Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar at Kilappaluvur were earlier brick foundations, re-built of stone in the days of Parantaka I.

The bronze of *Rishabhavahana devar* (ECB. Pl. 64) is one of the earliest and grandest of metal images in this temple; and it can be ascribed to the early period of Parantaka I's reign if not earlier still. The Rishabha is missing. It has two hands, the left hand is shown as if meant for being placed on the Rishabha. The *latticed jathamakuta,* long ear-lobes, broad *kanthis,* the flower decoration over the shoulders, *naga keyuras, vaji-bandha,* single *kankana,* broad and thick *udaraban-dha,* sinuous single-stranded *yajnopavita* (three threads), *kati-sutra* with three bands, the *simha* clasp and the central triangular projection, the decorated *ardhouraka* and the *padasara* — these are important features of this bronze. The figure radiates simple dignity and majesty.

We have at Pallavanesvaram an excellent set of *Rishabhavahanar and his consort* (ECB. Pls. 23, 24). It may be the predecessor of the bronze in this theme at Konerirajapuram (ECB. Pl. 1 & 2). Here Siva has four hands. The *skanda-mala* is in two strands. The *yajnopavita* is in three strands. There are a lion clasp at *kati* with a central triangular projection, three *valayas, pada-sara, siras-chakra* with a circular rim, and three *jathas* over the nape on each side with a chain and pen-dant in the centre.

Uma has a sinuous *yajnopavita, vaji-bandha,* five *valayas,* beautiful diaphanous drapery, and five *jathas* on either side of the central pendant and a *siras-chakra* similar to that of Siva.

2. *Tripurantakar*

Let us take up a few bronzes of Tripurantakar. Incidentally it may be mentioned that it is difficult to distinguish Tripurantakar, Vinadharar and Kiratamurti.

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We have to depend on the position and posture of the left arm in making the identification. In stone images the *vina* is carved along with the original deity. In case of metals, the identification becomes difficult as the *vina* is a detachable attachment.

Vinadharar (*of Vellanur*) (ECB. Pls. 67–68) is a metal of great artistic merit. It has the jewelled skull and the crescent on the *jathamakuta*. The right ear has *patra-kundala* and the left *makarakundala*. There is a thick *skandamala* on the right shoulder and a hooded cobra on the left. It has four hands. The *parasu* and the *mrga* are held in the rear hands between the first and middle finger. *Kanthis* adorn the neck. The *yajnopavita* has three strands. The first strand passes over the right chest above the *udarabandha*. There are *vaji-bandha* in the arms and three *valayas* in the wrist. The transparent *ardhouraka* is fastened by a *kati-sutra* of many bands (pearls ?) with a lion clasp and a central semi-circular projection. The legs have *padasaras*, the left foot is planted firmly over the head of the front-facing, conch-blowing *gana*. We have 13 curly *jathas* over the nape with a central pendant; the ends of the hair are tied in a fine knot and so there is no *siras-chakra*.

(ii) We shall take up the Tripurantakar bronze formerly housed in the Rajagopalaswamy temple and now in the Tanjavur Art gallery (ECB. Pls. 17 – 20). It has *Gangai* in the right top of the *jathamakuta*, *patra-kundala* in the left ear, *skandamala* with a central pendant on the right shoulder, *keyura*, three *valayas*, *yajnopavita* with three strands, a broad *udarabandha*, striped *ardhouraka*, *simha-mukha* clasp at *kati*, a fine tassel with a pendant over the right thigh, *padasara*, and four curly *jathas* on each side of the central chain with a pendant; it has no *siras-chakra*. These are the main features of this bronze.

(iii) At Tiruppurambiyam, we have another bronze. It has been styled Vinadharar by Sivaramamurti (SIB.

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Pl. 31 a,b). The *durdhara* flower on the left side of the *jathamakuta,* the *skandamala* on the right shoulder, *sarpa* on the left arm, *yajnopavita* in two strands, *mrga* on the rear right hand and *parasu* in the rear left hand held between the first and middle fingers, *naga-keyura, vaji-bandha, udarabandha, katisutra* in three bands with a central triangular projection, *padasara, siras-chakra* with spokes encircled by a rim, curly *jathas* over the nape, an oval *padma-pitha* over a *bhadra-pitha*—these are the chief features of this bronze.

(iv) There is another Tripurantakar in the Tanjavur Art Gallery hailing from *Mayuram* (ECB. Pls. 13, 14), similar to the one from Tiruppurambiyam. The *parasu* is held in the rear right hand. The *ardhouraka* is well-treated. The triangular projection from the *kati* ends in folds, and two tassels branch off from the central *kati* clasp and project over the thighs as in the case of the Tiruvarangulam Nataraja (National Museum, Delhi).

(v) Another of this group is the Tripurantakar (or Vinadharar) in the temple at Kilappaluvur (ECB. Pls. 65, 66, 69; SRB, Four Chola temples, Pl. 26).

Other bronzes

(i) The bronzes of Chandrasekharar and Parvati from Semangalam (now in the Madras Government Museum) are a good pair, slender in form, simple and elegant. The drapery whose tassels have flower design ends and the *pithas*—a circular double-lotus *pitha* over a *bhadrapitha*—are similar. Siva has *patra-kundala* in his left ear, *keyura,* two *valayas* in the waist, *yajnopavita* of three strands, *udarabhandha* also of three bands and *katisutra* of many bands with a central knot; the *karandamakuta, svarnavaikakshaka, makara-kundalam* in the ear and six *valayas* in the waist are prominent in Parvati (SIB., Pls. 60 a & b).

(ii) Another bronze of good workmanship is the Siva from *Sayavanam* (ECB. Pls. 71, 72). The *patrakun-*

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dala in the left ear, *makarakundala* in the right ear, *skanda-mala* on the right shoulder, pearl *yajnopavita*, a single strand (four threads), *ardhouraka* of the wavy pattern, *simhamukha* clasp with side bows and tassels, two *valayas* on the wrist, circular *siraschakra* with spokes and rim, seven spiral *jathas* over the nape with a border—these make this bronze a high-class work of art.

(iii) The Bhogesvari of Pallavanesvaram (ECB, Pls. 32–34) is another fine bronze of this age. She has *patra-kundalas* in both the ears. She wears the wedding-badge and two thick *kanthis*. Two curly *jathas* adorn both the shoulders. She has a latticed *makuta* at the back, four curly *jathas* on the nape on each side of a central chain suspending a pipal pendant, heavy *keyuras*, three *valayas* on the wrist and the *yajnopavita* in a single strand, all adorning a graceful body with full breasts, narrow waist and heavy hips. The wavy transparent drapery is delicately worn; its ends fall on the left thigh. The *katisutra* ends in a tassel in three strands with a central pipal-shaped pendant. Rings adorn the fingers. This bronze has all the grace and charm of the female figure.

(iv) So also is another exquisite bronze, Nataraja's consort in the temple at Tirumeyjnanam built in the days of Aditya I (ECB. Pls.25–26). She wears *makara-kundalas* in both the ears; she has flower decoration and *skandamala* on both the shoulders. She wears *kanthis, svarna-vaikakshaka, keyuras, vaji-bandha* and five *valayas* in the wrist; the diaphanous drapery is splendid. Pearl festoons, the end of *antariya* in zigzag folds on the right thigh and the fan-like projection between the legs are done with great skill. This is one of the noblest creations of the *stapathis* of this age, and it can stand comparison with the finest products of Mathura or Saranath.

(v) The Tiruppalanam Nataraja (ECB. Pls. 57, 58; E.C.A. I, 80-b) is the successor of Okkur, Sivapuram

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and Tandantottam. The arch-like *prabhavali* has a central flame of five tongues and eight flames of three tongues on the sides. Gangai perches on the *prabhavali* on the right side. The *jathamakuta* has peacock feathers on the top, the decorated skull (*karoti-ratna-bandha*) in the centre, the cobra and the crescent on the right and *durdhura* flower on the left. He has *patra-kundala* in the left ear, *keyuras, vajibandha,* and three *valayas*. A cobra winds round the front right arm in *abhayahasta*. *Agni* is held in a vessel. He has flower decoration on the shoulders and *skandamala* on the right shoulder. Seven *jathas* with curly ends spread from the head to the *prabhavali*. The *jathas* are connected with rosettes. The *jathas* on the right side are missing. He wears a thick *yajnopavita*. The offshoot of the *udarabandha* is attached to the *prabhavali*. Apasmara is bejewelled. He holds his head high looking at the dancer who crushes him under his right foot. Apasmara has a cobra and a cutlery in his hands. The whole figure rests on a double-lotus oval *pitha*. This is a great piece of art of Nataraja in the *ananda tandava* pose of the pre-Rajaraja I period.

(vi) What Barrett has featured as Vinadharar of Tirunavalur (ECB. Pls. 49–50) may be identified as Rama. He has only two hands just to hold the bow and arrow. He wears a *kiritamakuta* which will not fit in with the Saiva icon of Vinadharar; on the face there is a later *namam* partly erased.

(vii) We have an exquisite group of Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman at Kappalur (Pl. 144) which seems to be the precursor of a similar set at Paruttiyur (SIB, Fig. 43) and another of Vadakkup-panaiyur. These seem to belong to one workshop and the last group is the latest and the finest of them all marking the transition from the age of Sembiyan Mahadevi to Rajaraja I's.

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iv Group

Post-Parantaka I (A.D. 950–985)

After Parantaka I, the main-spring of artistic activity is Sembiyan Mahadevi. This period may be called the golden age of metal-casting in South India.

Her enthusiasm was catching and she found in Arulmolidevan, the future Rajaraja I, a devoted pupil in the realm both of religion and of art. He and his gifted successors carried on her noble tradition almost upto the 12th century A.D. And with the ushering in of this phase, we come to the period of dated bronzes of Konerirajapuram, Kadri and Tiruvengadu.[4]

The Kongu idiom

Nagaswamy has brought to our notice some excellent bronzes from the Kongu country, Kodumudi, Singanallur and Puttur. These should be considered as examples of the Kongu idiom of Dravidian art. These are subject more perhaps to Pandyan influence than to Chola,

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[4] A *Uttama Chola (Sembiyan Mahadevi)*—A.D. 969—985.
Konerirajapuram.

1. Rishabhavahana devar
2. Tripurantakar and Tripurasundari
3. Ganapati

} A.D. 969–977

4. Kadri—Buddhist Bronzes (BSI. Figs. 101, 102 and 103). A.D. 968
5. Konerirajapuram —Siva, Bhogesvari (Pl. 173)
6. Tiruvelvikkudi —Kalyana Sundarar (Pl. 248)
7. Tirumananjeri —Kalyana Sundarar (Pl. 234)
8. Kuttalam —Bhogesvari (Pl. 184)
9. Sembiyan Mahadevi —Bhogesvari (age of Rajendra I ?)

B *Middle Chola period (A.D.* 985–1070)

(a) Rajaraja I (A.D. 985–1014)
Tanjavur —Nataraja (Adavallan : Lalit Kala No. 12)
Tiruvengadu —Tripurantakar
Rishabhavahanadevar and his consort–
(Lalit Kala, 3 and 4).

(b) Rajendra I (A.D. 1012–1044)
Gangaikondasolapuram—Subrahamanyar.
Tiruvalangadu Nataraja—Madras Museum.

(c) Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018–54)
Tiruvenkadu —Pichchadevar (Bhikshatanar)
Ardhanarisvarar—Madras Museum.

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since the Kongu country was under the political influence of the Pandyas in the 8th and 9th centuries, as evidenced by the Velvikkudi and the Madras Museum plates of Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan.[5]

To this rich and great heritage of South Indian art, O.C. Gangoly has paid a well-deserved tribute :—

"In the absorbing serenity of expression, in the rhythmic sways and the dynamic symmetry of the poses, above all in the moving and generalised forms of an original, yet artistic, anatomy, the bronzes of this school translate the abstruse conception of Brahmanic philosophy into which the artists have skilfully mingled their own meditations, their prayers and all the hopes of their lives. To know them and to appreciate them is to receive an initiation into a new world of plastic dreams, not revealed in any of the master-pieces of Greek or Renaissance bronzes."

The memory of these great and immortal sculptors and their noble creations will inspire mankind for all times.

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51. R. Nagaswamy, Lalit Kala, 9 and 10.
2. P.R.S. BSI.—Figs. 53, 78–83.
3. D. Barrett, ECB—Pls. 87–90.
4. C. Sivaramamurti, SIB—Pls. 89–91.

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12 Style

On the question of style, there is a lot of erroneous views. Burgess, Fergusson and Dubreuil are pioneers who laid the foundations of Dravidian Archaeology. Their methods were systematic and scientific, and their conclusions are sound upto the extent original sources of art history were then available to them. Their successors in the field, instead of following their *methods*, simply, even blindly, echoed *their views* though outdated by the progress and enlargement of the frontiers of our knowledge during the course of more than half a century. Without a full survey and careful study of *dated* monuments and *dated* sculptures, no satisfactory results would be possible.

Dubreuil divided Dravidian style into *five* main periods, and his generalisations were too sweeping. He enunciated the first *three* phases as follows :

(1) The *Pallava* phase (A.D. 600–850). It was characterised by *rock-sculptures*. The Bahur temple was wrongly included in this group. It seems to be a foundation of the period of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (10th century A.D.).

(2) The Chola phase (A.D. 850–1100). It was (he held) a period of *grand vimanas*. In this group were included the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur (which he and others attributed, owing to inadequate appreciation of evidence, to Parantaka I) and the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur.

(3) The third was the *Pandyan* phase which according to him extended from A.D. 1100 to 1350; he characterised it as the period of *grand gopurams*. He included in this group the east *gopuram* in the third wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram,

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the small western *gopuram* in the second wall of enclosure of the Jambukesvarar temple at Tiruvanikka (which he dated to A.D. 1251), the main eastern *gopuram* of the Sarangapani temple at Kumbakonam and the Ballala (Hoysala) gopuram at Tiruvannamalai. He added : "The monuments belonging to the Pandyan style are very rare. They are all *gopurams*.... The east *gopuram* of Chidambaram is the best example of Architecture of the Pandyan epoch. The date of its erection is undoubted since it bears an inscription of Sundara Pandya. This style is found in a large number of monuments of this epoch."

Percy Brown (Indian Architecture, pp. 107–108), Nilakanta Sastri (The Colas, 2nd edition, p.176) and S.K. Sarasvati (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V, p. 622) merely echo the views of Dubreuil. The latest is Shanti Swarup (5000 years of Arts and Crafts in India and Pakistan, p. 87).

The Chola supremacy lasted in South India till A.D. 1250. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. A.D. 1251) conquered the Chola country and extended his sway as far as Nellore. The effective Pandya rule over the Chola country lasted at the most half a century. Sundara Pandya I no doubt made liberal gifts to temples at Srirangam, Jambukesvaram, Chidambaram and Kanchipuram. In the Chola (including the Pallava) country only two temples could be attributed to him. These are the Vishnu temple of Viranarayana Perumal at Kattumannargudi near Chidambaram—an old foundation of the time of Parantaka I which was rebuilt of stone—and a new big temple, the Bhaktavatsala temple (enclosing the original *Sri Mulasthana Perumanadigal* temple in the northern *prakara* at the foot of the hill) at Tirukkalukkunram. The gateway portion of the east *gopuram* at Chidambaram was built in the later Chola period (Kulottunga II). *None* of the *gopurams* attributed to Sundara Pandya could

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be sustained as such on the evidence available. In case of these monuments, the developments in style should be considered as the natural evolution of the Chola style already in its full swing in the Chola empire. It is not possible to sustain the theory of a *Pandyan phase of Dravidian style in the Chola country between* A.D. 1100 *and* 1350 (See Four Chola Temples, pp. 34–37).

About this time, Srirangam, Jambukesvaram, Samayavaram and Kannanurkoppam and the neighbouring regions came under the rule of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra, some of the chief features of whose style could be seen in a few monuments erected by them in this region.

Fergusson held that the temple of Parvati (Sivakami Amman) in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram was added "most probably in the 14th or 15th century, and to that age the great *gopurams* and the second enclosures also belong." The Amman temple and the second wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple were the work of the later Cholas—Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola.

The *Nritta Sabha* was believed to be "the oldest thing now existing here". It rests on a stylobate, provided at the sides with wheels and horses, the whole representing a car. Though its date is not stated, he describes another similar structure the *Pandya Nayakam,* a shrine dedicated to Subrahmanya and about it, Burgess states :—

"We cannot feel sure of its age. From the position, however, and the character of its ornamentation, there seems little doubt that it belongs to the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. From its style, however, I would be inclined to ascribe it the earlier date."

The *ratha* feature of monuments is known as early as the days of Kulottunga I. The Melakkadambur

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temple was rebuilt of stone in or before the 43rd year of Kulottunga I (12th century A.D., Four Chola Temples, pp. 47–59). And the *prasasti* of his successor Vikrama Chola claims among other works the erection of a *Tirutterk-koyil* (*car* or *ratha* form of *vimana* or shrine) in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram and this should refer only to this *Nritta Sabha* enclosed by the second wall of enclosure named *Vikrama cholan Tirumaligai.*

The Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908–9 mentions that "the high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Krishna Raja as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as the hundred-pillared and thousand-pillared *mandapas*. We frequently hear of *Rayar-gopuram* which means the tower of Rayar (i.e. perhaps Krishna Raya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited thus by Krishna Raya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the empire."[1]

Fergusson and Burgess held that the thousand-pillared hall at Chidambaram could be attributed to the period between A.D. 1595 and 1685.

We have evidence to prove that these additions were the work of the Later Cholas (A.D. 1070–1270). The first two walls of enclosure of the Nataraja temple called *Kulottunga Solan Tirumaligai* and *Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai,* the Amman shrine (Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Nachiyar) and the hundred-pillared hall were the works of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola and their minister Naralokaviran. Of the four seven-storeyed *gopurams* (*elu-nilai gopuram*), the

[1]An inscription in Tiruvannamalai (A.R. 574 of 1905, SII. VIII. no. 165) mentions that Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar built a hundred-pillared *mandapa* at Kalahasti and a thousand-pillared *mandapa* at Tiruvannamalai. Without evidence, it is incorrect to attribute to him *all* such *mandapas* in South India.

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western was built by Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II, the gateways of the northern and the eastern by the latter, and the southern *gopuram* by Pallava Kopperunjingan. These four *gopurams* in the third wall of enclosure named *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai,* after a surname of Kulottunga III should therefore be considered as the achievements of the Later Cholas. The thousand-pillared hall must have existed even in the days of Kulottunga II, as Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam* was expounded here. The gateway portions of the east and north *gopurams* were built in the days of Kulottunga II. Only the brick super-structure was rebuilt by the Vijayanagar rulers in respect of the north *gopuram* (Four Chola Temples, p. 35; also J.C. Harle's Temple Gateways in South India, pp. 58–63 and pp. 67–69).

The outer eastern *gopuram* and the *vimana* of the *Tribhuvanam* temple belong to one period and was the creation of one king Kulottunga III *alias* Tribhuvanavira-devar. It is pointed out that the ribbed *kapota* found in this *gopuram* is "unknown at such an early period." So doubt is cast as to the possibility of the *vimana* and the *gopuram* having been erected in the same reign. But the ribbed *kapota* and *kumudam* are found as early as the 12th century A.D. (43rd year of Kulottunga I) in the Amritaghatesvarar temple at Melakkadambur (see J.C. Harle's Temple Gateways in South India, p. 25 and note 5 : Also my Four Chola Temples, Pls. 38–40).

The study of dated sculptures has only just begun. Some deny the existence of Pallava bronzes at all. Even those who admit its existence find it difficult to define clearly the features of that style. It defies definition.

At one time, the disposition of the *yajnopavita* on the right fore-arm was considered a distinct Pallava feature (See Editor's note p. 10 'Rare Bronzes from

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the Kongu country', Lalit Kala No. 9); but we know for certain that this feature is also found in Chola sculptures till the middle of the 10th century A.D. Then there is the reliance on the form, position, decoration with flames and the manner of holding, with the fingers, the conch and discus. Even here, a clear definition or conclusive postulation is not practicable.

The form of the *makuta,* the presence of the *vajibandha* and the *skandamala,* the form of the *keyuras* and the *valayas*, the *hara* and the lion-clasp are all attributed to certain periods but they are not conclusive. We must rely on the totality of the impression after weighing all the factors.

The critical study of dated stone sculptures, of dated bronzes, and their comparative study have to be taken up only after a fairly satisfactory survey and scientific study of monuments and sculptures has been done. Allowance has to be made for the display of the individual natural skill of the *sthapathi,* the workshop to which he belongs, the patronage he receives and the regional idioms and the influences of foregin art-centres. All these should be considered before any satisfactory definition of style could be postulated.

Benjamin Rowland has given us a working definition of style: "By style is meant those peculiarities of outward visual appearance and structure in a work of architecture, sculpture, or painting conditioned by reason for, and the manner of, its creation, that makes it typical—indeed inevitable—for a definite moment in history".

Such a clearly defined style is in the making.

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13 Prasada : Component Parts

Silpa Sastras mention six main parts of a *Prasada*. They are the *adhishthana* (basement), the *pada* (foot or pillar), *prastara* (entablature), *gala* (neck or ceiling), *sikhara* (roofing) and *stupi* (finial). There is an inscription at Tillaisthanam which incidentally mentions the various parts of the temple-structure on which this inscription was engraved. The parts mentioned are : *ardhamandapa, snapana-mandapa, uttiram, potigai, jagati, pattigai, kandam,* and *kumudam* (*No.* 31 of 1895).

The *adhishthana* is the lowest part of a shrine. It is the basement on which the pillars of the shrine stand. It consists of a number of mouldings (*padai*). They are *upana* (with or without *padma*), *jagati, kumudam, gala, kampa, gala* and *pattika*.

Below the *adhishthana,* we have the *upa-pitha* which some *silpins* consider optional. It may have the same number of *angas* (*padai*) as the *adhishthana*. This is meant to give stability and beauty to the building.

Garbhagriha

The *garbhagriha* is the innermost, and the most sacred, part of the temple wherein is installed the main deity meant for worship. Its inner walls are generally free from sculptures except in Pallava temples built during the reigns of Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rajasimha and Nandivarman II. Its outer walls are adorned with *devakoshtas* surmounted by *toranas*.

There is an *ardhamandapa* in front of the *garbhagriha*. An inscription from Gandaradityam (No. 202 of 1928–29) calls this structure by the name *tiruidaikkattu*. In some cases, the *ardhamandapa* is directly

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attached to the *garbhagriha,* but we know of at least two cases—the Panchanadisvarar temple at Tiruvaiyaru and the Avani Kandarpa Isvaram at Kilaiyur—where the *ardhamandapa* was originally detached but was later linked by an *antarala* as in the case of the Pallava Kailasanathar temple at Kanchipuram. At Punjai, we have not only an *antarala* to connect the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* but an additional *antarala* to connect the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* built later on.

At Konerirajapuram, there is a canopied *mandapa* running round the *garbhagriha* which is called *Tirunadaimaligai* (No. 660 of 1909).

Tillaisthanam and Vriddhachalam mention the erection of a *snapana mandapa.*

Devakoshtas

According to *Mayamatam,* in the *mula-tala* of the *vimana,* the deities to be installed are : in the east *dvarapalas* or Nandikesa and Kalan; in the south, Dakshinamurti; in the west Mahavishnu or Lingodbhavar and in the north Brahmadevar. In the *mandapa* (*ardhamandapa*): Vinayaka in the south and Nataraja to the east of it and Katyayani and Kshetrapala in the north.

According to another *silpa* text, *Isana Sivagurudeva-Paddhati,* the sculptures prescribed are :—"In the walls of the *vimana*, images should be installed in the different quarters: Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar or Vishnu or any other of His manifestations in the west; and Durga or Brahma in the north. An image of Vinayaka may be set up in the wall of the *ardhamandapa,* while a Kshetrapala may be sculptured in the north-east corner."

Though there are some variations, this general scheme is in conformity with the practice obtaining in early Chola temples. The chief variations may be

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stated. At Viralur, Tiruvamattur and Lalgudy, there is Bhikshatanar in the northern niche; Tirukkattalai has Tripurantaka, Vishnu and Brahma. In Tiruverumbur there is Harihara in the western niche. The Nagesvarar temple at Kumbakonam and the Saptarishisvarar temple at Lalgudy have Ardhanarisvarar, the twin shrines of Avani Kandarpa Isvaram have a standing and seated Subrahmanyar in the eastern niches. In the southern *devakoshta* at Tiruchchendurai we have Rishabhavahana devar.

The Saptarishisvarar temple at Lalgudy (faces west) has Bhikshatanar in the north, Ardhanarisvarar in the east and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south *devakoshta.*

Close to this temple is the Sri Vishamangalesvarar temple at Tudaiyur (Tirukadambatturai Mahadevar temple at Tudaiyur) which could be ascribed to the days of Aditya I. It faces the east and has *Sarasvati* and Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti in the south, *Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti* in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north. It is a unique feature to have Sarasvati and Siva-Uma (Alinginamurti) in so early an age—Pre-Rajaraja I's (E.C.A. Suppt. to Part I, Pls. 7–15).

Pullamangai and Kilappaluvur typify the general pattern of *devakoshta* images of the reign of Parantaka I. Erumbur has only three *devakoshtas*—with Dakshinamurti (south), Arunachalesvarar (Siva as a yogi—the destroyer of Manmata?) and Brahma.

Tiruvaduturai introduces Agastya which is repeated in the Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai and in the Karkotaka-Isvaram at Kamarasavalli.

In the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur we have in the *devakoshtas* of the *mula-tala* Ardhanarisvarar and Siva (standing) in one shrine, and Gangadharar, Siva and Dakshinamurti in the second shrine.

There is a great change in the days of Uttama Chola. The Umamahesvara temple at Konerirajapuram is

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typical of those built by the queen dowager Sembiyan Mahadevi. This temple has in its *devakoshtas* Agastya, Ganesa, Nataraja, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma, Bhikshatanar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar (Pls. 162–173).

Even earlier temples felt the impact of the Sembiyan spirit. Tiruppurambiyam and Karandai are two examples where even the inscribed walls of the earlier age were chiselled off to insert the additional sculptures. At Tiruppurambiyam, we have Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, Kankalamurti, Nataraja, Ganapati, Agastya, Lingodbhavar, Brahma, Kalasamharamurti, Ardhanarisvarar, Durga, Ganga-visarjanamurti and Bhikshatanar.

At Karandai, we have about sixteen sculptures and we see the introduction of the Nayanmars—Appar and Sambandar also (Pls. 194–202).

Torana

The *Torana* is a decorative element over the gateway or the *devakoshta*. The earliest extant examples of an ornamental gateway are those at the four main gates of the Sanchi stupa. Another good example is the one at the entrance to the Muktesvarar temple, Bhuvaneswar.

This architectural element becomes a decorative feature in Pallava and Chola temples to span the area over the *koshtas*.

The *Manasara* describes four kinds of *toranas*: *patra, pushpa, ratna* and *chitra*. The *patra-torana* is an arch in the shape of a crescent decorated with leaves. If, in addition, it has *makara* faces at the bottom and in the junction at the top, it is called *makara-torana*. The *makara-torana* has generally five bends and sometimes birds like the swan are introduced as in the *torana* over the *devakoshta*-panel in the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakkal. If birds are introduced, it is

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considered as an example of *chitra torana*. Sometimes they are also adorned with Vidhyadharas, Bhutas, simha, yali, hamsa, babies and men carrying garlands of flowers or precious stones, as if emerging from the mouths of *makaras*. Inside the *torana*, a *deva* also is introduced. The Sokkesvara *torana* (E.C.A. I. Pl. 30) has Ganapati in the centre, Uma-Siva on the right and Parvati worshipping Linga on the left. The Tiruchchendurai *torana* (E.C.A.I. Pl. 40 b) has pearl festoons. It may be the *ratna* variety. There are very interesting *makara toranas* at Srinivasanallur, with Adi Varaha in the centre of the *torana* over the western niche (E.C.A.I. Pl. 47). Pullamangai, Kilappaluvur and Punjai have excellent *makara toranas* (J.C. Harle's Pullamangai, Plates 5 and 6, also Four Chola Temples, Pl. 23).

Vimana and Vimana-devatas

The term *vimana* has been variously defined. One of the inscriptions of Rajaraja I makes the meaning clear. He ordered that his gifts, those of his elder sister and those of his queens, were to be engraved on the *vimana* of the temple of Rajarajesvaram. This inscription is found on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, including the *adhishthana*. So the term *vimana* must refer to the whole structure of a temple from the *upana* to the *stupi*.

Vimana devatas are installed not only in the *deva-koshtas* round the *garbhagriha*, but also in the upper *talas*, one or more as the case may be and in the *koshtas* of the *griva*.

The second *tala* of the Sundaresvarar temple at Tirukkattalai has Bhikshatanar (s), Vishnu (w) and Brahma (n). The figures of the *griva* are Dakshinamurti (s), Varahamurti (w), Brahma (n) and Indra (or Bala-Subrahmanya) (e).

So also *vimana devatas* are found in the twin shrines of Avani Kandarpa Isvaram at Kilaiyur, and the shrines of Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur.

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The *Pancharatra Agama* of the Vaishnavites contemplates seven *talas* and assigns the following *vimana-devatas*. We shall merely mention those pertaining to the first three *talas*, as I could not find any with seven *talas*.

"In the first *tala* are to be installed the *gana* deities, like Kumuda and Upendra, dancing demi-gods. In the second *tala*, Nara form of Vishnu, Narayana, Hari and Krishna and the twelve manifestations of Vishnu (Kesava etc.) and in the third *tala* Purusha, Satya, Achyuta, Ananta, the eight guardian deities, twelve Adityas, Gandharvas, Apsaras and Kinnaras".

But nowhere do we find a temple with these *vimana-devatas*.

Most of the Vishnu temples have been so completely renovated that they no longer retain their original features. The most well-preserved of Vishnu temples are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchi, the Sundaravarada Perumal temple at Uttaramerur and the Varaha temple at Tiruvidandai.

Panels of Miniature-Sculptures

Over the *Vyala-mala* and beneath the pillars and pilasters of the *devakoshtas* of some temples, there are panels of miniature-sculptures of great artistic merit. Some of them deal with the various manifestations of Siva and Vishnu and some Puranic episodes.

Such panels are found in the Nagesvarar temple at Kumbakonam, the Tiru-Virattanesvarar temple at Tirukkandiyur, the Virattanesvarar temple at Kilur (near Tirukkoyilur), the Tiruvural Mahadeva temple at Takkolam, the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Pullamangai, the Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai and the Karkotaka Isvaram at Kamarasavalli. These panels have not been fully photographed and studied. It will be an interesting project of absorbing interest.

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Temples are classified from different points of view. According to the size, *Alpa* and *Maha-Prasada*; according to the number of floors (*tala* or *bhumi*), *ekatala, dvitala, tritala* etc ; and according to their shape and design, *chaturasra* (square), *vritta* (circular), *chaturasra-dirga* (rectangular), *hasti-prshtha* (apsidal), *vrttayata* (elliptical) *shat-kona* (hexagonal) and *ashtasra* (octagonal).

The old established nomenclature regarding the main styles of Indian Architecture has been subjected to a critical examination by F.H. Gravely and T.N. Ramachandran in a Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum (M.S. Vol. III, I) and they challenged the use of the terms, Nagara, Vesara and Dravida for reasons stated below :—

According to the *Manasara* and *Suprabhedagama,* the three main styles of temple architecture are defined as follows :—

Nagara is that in which the *vimana* was *quadrangular* throughout;

Vesara in which the *vimana* was crowned by a *circular sikhara* above the neck; and

Dravida in which the *vimana* was crowned by an *octagonal or hexagonal sikhara* above the neck; and the Manasara adds an apsidal form in the case of both Vesara and Dravida styles. They regarded that the Dravida style is applicable to monuments in the Dravida country; and they recognised that the earliest existing remains as *Pallava.* They added that "the term *Vesara* belonged to the Northern style hitherto unfortunately called *Nagara* by recent writers, in which the *vimana* was crowned by a circular *amalaka*", and that "the term *Nagara* applied to the series of Chalukyan temples, which, owing to a strong superficial resemblance have been wrongly included by most recent authors among the *Dravida*".

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Any classification of style is intended to define and group the existing monuments into well recognised units based upon common characteristics. But the application of these terms to the Dravidian monuments of Mamallapuram has yielded the following results as found in the 'Survey of Pallava Architecture in South India' (Ancient India No. 14, pp. 129–30). "The Draupati ratha illustrates the type of a single hut (Kutagara), square on plan, with four of the six *angas* of the *vimana,* the *angas* that are lacking being the *prastara* and *griva* below the *sikhara.* This represents the *kuta* type with a domical roof (*sikhara*) crowned by a single *stupi* or finial also square on plan (sama-chaturasra) the four sided *sikhara,* in conformity with the parts below, representing the *Nagara* order in its pure form. The bas-relief shrines in the Arjuna's Penance (Ganga Avatarana) Sculpture (Pl. XLVII A), and on the facade of the Ramanuja mandapa (Pl. XLVII B) represent the same type. These are more complete *alpa-prasadas* in that they have the six *angas* including the *prastara* and *griva;* the latter being a clerestory raising the roof proper over the cellar; they are the same class of *Sama Chaturasra Kutas* with the *Nagara sikhara* representing the *eka-tala* (single storeyed) variety. The *dvitala* (two storied) variety of the *Nagara* order is represented by the Valaiyan Kuttai ratha, and the Northern Pidari ratha, square throughout with the difference that in the latter, the *prastara* of the second storey does not carry the *hara* of miniature shrines as in the storey below, while the former has the *hara* of *salas* and *karnakutas* over both *talas.*

The Southern Pidari ratha and the Arjuna ratha illustrate examples of *Sama-chaturasra* (square) *vimanas* of the *dvitala* variety with octagonal *sikhara* of the Dravida order. They constitute the *misra* (composite) variety of that order, four sided from base to *prastara,*

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including the *talas* with octagonal *griva* and *sikhara*. The Dharmaraja ratha (Pl. XLIV A) illustrates a *tri-tala* (three storeyed) example with the same type of *sikhara* with all the three square *talas* intended to be functional. A pure variety of *Dravida* order, though hexagonal on plan from basement to finial is perhaps represented by the bas-relief at the front end of the Nakula-Sahadeva ratha (Pl. XLVII D)".

Enough has been quoted to show that these authors hold that even among the well-accepted Dravidian monuments, there were the *Nagara* and the *Dravidian* style in one and the same monument. Dravidian monuments have different kinds of *sikharas*—square, octagonal, round, wagon-roofed and all of them belong only to one order—the Dravidian.

Further, I think that Gravely himself has receded from his original rigid position in his next revised publication, an outline of Indian Temple Architecture, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum (Vol. III Pt. 2). In the earlier Bulletin (Vol. III Pt. 1), it was stated in respect of item 3 of Plate I—the Mallikarjuna temple of the Mahakutesvara group (in the Northern style)—that it was "*a Chalukyan Vesara temple,* one of the Mahakutesvara group"; but Gravely reproduces as illustration the same monument on page 3 in the later Bulletin and styles it "*Temple of the Northern form*". The *curvilinear vimana* and the *Amalaka sikhara* are certainly features of North Indian (North Hindu or Indo-Aryan) style. To call it *Nagara* as has been done by recent writers since the days of Fergusson need not be considered wrong. We are not now in a position to say what monuments the Manasara had in view when these stiff definitions were framed.

An interesting record from *Holal* is the label cut out on the capital of a finely carved pillar in the Amritesvarar temple. It is called, in the inscription in Kannada characters of about the 14th century, a Sukara pillar each

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costing 20 *gadyanas* (See also Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VIII part I—Ins. no. 275).

About the sculptor who made it, the record says that "*Bammoja,* the pupil of *Padoga* of Sige, was a *Visvakarman* i.e. 'the architect of the Gods' in this Kali age, the master of the sixtyfour arts and sciences, the clever builder of the sixty-four varieties of mansions, and the architect who had the skill to raise the four types (styles) of buildings *viz. Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida* and *Vesara"*(Madras Epigraphical Report, Southern Circle—"Nagara-Kalinga-Dravida-Vesara" chaturjati prasada vinilmita sutradhari"). This local contemporary epigraphical testimony about the prevalence of these regional styles is of greater validity than academic, speculative definitions of *silpa sastra* treatises. Moreover, the *Kamikagama* states that these styles are differentiated on a regional basis—that the *Nagara* or Indo-Aryan style was prevalent in the region from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas; the *Vesara* style was found in the basin of the Krishna; and the *Dravidian* style should refer to the region from the valley of the *Krishna to Comorin.* The monuments of the central region have been largely influenced by both the Northern and the Southern styles. Starting from the Kadamba style we pass through the Badami and Kalyani phases of the Chalukya and ultimately culminate in the Kakatiya and Hoysala styles of the 12th and 13th centuries. I agree more or less with a similar conclusion arrived at independently by the editors of "Karnataka Through the Ages" published by the Mysore Government, Bangalore.[1]

[1]"The Chalukyan style may be equated with *Vesara* school of the Sanskrit texts. In the Vesara, there is a combination of the principles of South Indian (Dravida) and North Indian (Nagara) schools of architecture. As Mr. *Cousens* points out, the Chalukyan builders while retaining the storeyed arrangement of the Pallava tower (South India), reduced the height of each storey and covered it with such a profusion of ornamental detail that they eventually became greatly overcrowded. The result was that in later examples,

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None of these classifications agrees with the design of the existing monuments found today. There is great merit in the cautious approach of V.A. Smith who states :—

"The *Dravidian or Southern* style of Architecture is sharply distinguished from the *Northern* by the fact that its tower or spire is straight lined and pyramidal in form, divided into storeys by horizontal bands and surmounted by either a barrel roof or a dome derived directly from the ancient wooden architecture" (p. 129 —V.A. Smith—History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon). It seems to me that no safe deduction about style could be drawn solely on the shape of the *sikhara*.[2]

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these details are not apparent at first glance. At the same time, they borrowed ideas from the northern tower and so manoeuvred the central panel or niches on each storey as to form a more or less continuous vertical band. There is also a third element namely the apsidal character of the Buddhist chaitya as incorporated in the famous Durga temple at Aihole." ('Karnataka Through the Ages', p. 381, Mysore Government, Bangalore.)

It may be added that there are some centres like Badami, Aihole and Pattadakkal where monuments of more than one style are found side by side.

[2]Another writer discusses the Avani Kandarpa-Isvara-griham at Kilaiyur, and dates the Agastyesvaram to A.D. 875 and the Cholisvaram to A.D. 905 and he adds :

"The temple strongly partakes of Irukkuvel architectural elements and has been *unduly* (?) carried out under the immediate patronage of Irukkuvel chieftains and artisans. It is likely to belong to a date closer to Kodumbalur Muvar Koil which it greatly resembles and copies and thus indicates the extension of Irukkuvel architectural style into the mainland of Cola country. The fact that the *sikhara* is square unlike the normal later circular Cola *sikhara* is also a point in favour. The other temple here (Arunachalesvara or Colisvara) has a circular *sikhara* and is mentioned together with the first temple in the 22nd year of Aditya (c. 893 A.D.). However, the alignment of the *parivara* shrines does not cover this temple and only this temple has an Amman shrine facing south in its northern side. Further its periphery to the south is not well organised. The east niche shows a seated Subrahmanya stylistically different from that of Agastisvaram. All this shows the *Agastisvaram was certainly built first and was followed by Colisvaram at a later stage of Aditya's reign.*" (Paper submitted by K.V. Soundararajan to the Seminar on Indian Temple Architecture held at Varanasi—17th to 22nd November 1967—American Academy of Banares).

Kilaiyur together with Melappaluvur was the stronghold of the Paluvettaraiyars—not of Irukkuvels who flourished in the region round about Kodumbalur.

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This rules out the possibility of the Irukkuvels and their architectural influence in this region.

The separate Amman shrine was an addition in the later Chola period.

The three earliest inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman (*alias* Aditya I) clearly prove the existence of the twin shrines (*iru-tali*) in or before A.D. 884 (and 893). (See note and statements I and II below.)

The two *devakoshta* figures of Subrahmanyar, standing and seated, are of *two varieties but not of different artistic style*, they need not be uniform in all respects in order to assign them to the same period (see Four Chola Temples & Early Chola Art, Part I). How to reconcile his dating of Cholisvaram both to A.D. 905 and 893!

Temples in the Dravida desa have *sikharas* of different shapes—square, circular, octagonal and apsidal (wagon-roof). Avani Kandarpa Isvara-griham has two contemporary shrines side by side with square and circular *sikharas*. The Muvarkoyil had three shrines all of the same age and all only with square *sikharas;* but only two of the three exist now. The Kodumbalur temple is nearly a century later than the Avani Kandarpa Isvaram and there is no question of Kodumbalur influencing the architectural style at Kilaiyur.

Moreover the Jaina Panchakuta Basti at Kambadahalli in the Mysore State (E.C.A. I. Pls. 107-109) which may be said to belong to the *Dravidian* order has three shrines in a line *built at the same time* having three different *sikharas—square, circular* and *octagonal.*

The Dharmaraja Ratha at Mamallapuram and the temples at Tiruvallam and Konerirajapuram have octagonal *sikharas*. The temple of Sokkesvara at Kanchi, the temple at Viralur, the Arinjigai Isvaram at Melpadi and also the temple of Kadambavanesvarar at Erumbur have circular *sikharas*.

So it seems unsound to classify monuments regarding their style on the basis solely of the shape of the *sikhara*.

Note on the Three Oldest Rajakesari Inscriptions of Agastyesvaram.

There are ten *Rajakesari* inscriptions on the walls of the sanctum of the two shrines, eight of them on the southern shrine and two on the northern. In my opinion, three of them have to be assigned to Aditya I, two to Gandaraditya, four to Sundara Chola and one to Rajaraja I. One of Rajakesari (*alias* Gandaraditya) and one of Rajakesari (*alias* Rajaraja I) are found on the walls of the northern shrine.

Of these, the *three* oldest are : *one* of the 13th year (357/1924) and *two* of the 22nd year (335 and 360/1924) of Rajakesarivarman. The text of 355 is incomplete, and it has not been published along with the other two in the "Text of South Indian Inscriptions", XIII.

The inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman refers to a gift of 8 *ma* of land. It states that this land was situated in the village of *Uragangudi*, a *devadana* of this temple, and that the land, which was lying fallow, was reclaimed and brought under cultivation, so as to be fit for double cropping. It was stipulated that the seven priests of the temple (it-tali pattudaiyom eluvom) were to enjoy the produce of the land and to maintain a perpetual lamp in each of the twin-shrines of *Avani Kandarpa Isvara Griham* situated in the geographical division of Kunrakkurram. The gift is made under orders from, and with the permission *(prasadam)* of, one *Nakkan Pudi Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Kandan,* son of Pagaividai Isvarattu Devanar of Paluvur (who was, perhaps, so named after the Lord of the Sundaresvara temple in Melappaluvur proper). It may be mentioned that there is an inscription of the tenth year of *Kovirasa-kesari-panmar* at Tiru-

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vaiyaru, which mentions, among the boundaries of the land given away as a gift, a field called *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Kandan Masakkal;* this field should have been named after this Chief (Ep. Coll. 224 of 1894 and SII., Vol. V, No. 523). Hence I am inclined to identify this Rajakesarivarman (of 357/1924) with *Aditya I.*

The characters of this inscription are sufficiently archaic to be assigned to the age of Aditya I, but unlike the other two inscriptions cited above, this inscription does not seem to bear *pullis* on consonants. This is very intriguing. While it has to be conceded that inscriptions with *pullis* should be considered as belonging to an early period, it seems possible that inscriptions with *pullis* existed side by side with those without them. Otherwise, these inscriptions are a puzzle from the point of view of paleography, and we have to admit that reliance on any one factor, like paleography, alone is not sufficiently reliable for fixing the age of an inscription or for ascribing it to a particular king. Anyhow, it seems very probable that this record belongs to the period of Aditya I.

If this identification is accepted, this will be the earliest inscription of this temple with the two shrines, and it must have come into existence some time closely before, or in, the 13th year of Aditya I (See E C A, I Pls.61 and 62).

Let us next take up for consideration Inscription No. 360 of 1924 (SII. XIII, No. 298). It is a record of the 22nd year of Rajakesarivarman. It is inscribed on the southern wall of the southern shrine and records a gift, after reclamation, of 8 *ma* of land situated in the same *devadana* village of *Uragangudi* for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in *each of the twin shrines* ("irandu taliyilum oronandavilakku") of the temple of Mahadeva of *Avani-kandarva-isvara-griham.* The donor is one Vettakudan Vadugan Madavan of Poygaikkuruvidam, the gift being under orders from, and with the permission (*prasadam*) of, *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan.* The seven priests of the temple (ittali-pattudaiyom-eluvom) were given the right of enjoyment of the said land on condition that they agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in each of the twin shrines of the temple.

The Editor (G. V. Srinivasa Rao) of the South Indian Inscriptions XIII says : "This inscription seems to be assignable to Rajaraja I." But the characters of this inscription are sufficiently archaic to be assigned to Aditya I. The consonants have *pullis* in the shape of dots. Further, if it were to relate to Rajaraja I, it would have borne the historical introduction of "*Tirumagal pola*" or "*Kandalurch-chalai kalam-aruttaruliya*" in a record of such a late date of the reign. There is also mention of the *twin-shrines* of this temple ("*irandu taliyilum oro-nanda vilakku*"), and this feature is found only in the earliest records. There is an inscription of Parantaka I (Madirai-konda kop-parakesari), of his 25th year (359/1924), below this inscription. The script of the Rajakesari inscription is earlier than that of Parantaka's. Hence, I am inclined to assign this Rajakesari inscription to Aditya I—*not* to Rajaraja I.

Let us now take the incomplete, unpublished inscription : No. 355 of 1924. This is also inscribed on the southern wall of the *southern* shrine. It also records the reclamation ("kalli") of 8 *ma* of uncultivated land (*abhogam kidanda bhumi*), and its gift to the priests of this temple on condition that they agreed to maintain a perpetual lamp in each of the two shrines of this temple. It is a record of the 22nd year of "*.....ri-parmar.....*" The expression "..... ri-parmar....." may apply to Rajakesari or Parakesari. The script is archaic and could be assigned to the 9th century A.D. The consonants bear *pullis* like inverted commas, which are also met with in an inscription of Aditya I at Tiruppalanam (see facsimile of inscription, No. 124 of 1895, SII. Text, IV, No. 686). Below it there is an inscription of Parantaka I (Madirai-konda kop-parakesari-parmar) of the 37th year

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(358 of 1924), whose script is decidedly later than that of "Rajakesari" inscribed above it. The only Rajakesari before Parantaka I is Aditya I and so this incomplete inscription should be assigned to Aditya I. This Rajakesari inscription records that the gift was made with the permission of *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan,* the Chief who figures in the other Rajakesari inscription of the 22nd year. The provision for burning a lamp in each of the *twin* shrines of this temple is a special feature of these earliest inscriptions of this temple. It may be further stated that at Lalgudy there is an inscription of the *fifth* year of *Parakesarivarman,* who should be identified with Parantaka I (M.E.R. No. 117 of 1928–29). It records a gift by the same chief *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan* who figures in the two Rajakesari inscriptions discussed above. It is likely that this Chief flourished in the latter part of the reign of Aditya I and in the early part of the reign of his successor, Parantaka I.

Therefore, I feel emboldened to ascribe all the three Rajakesari inscriptions cited above (Nos. 357, 360 and 355 of 1924) to Aditya I. I may hazard the opinion that the two Chiefs Kumaran Kandan and Kumaran Maravan might have been brothers, sons of Kumaran.

In contrast to what we have seen above, the shrines are mentioned individually ("ittali") even in the inscriptions of Parantaka I.

The next set of Rajakesari inscriptions, from the chronological point of view, seems to be : No. 364 of 1924, of the sixth year of Rajakesarivarman, inscribed on the walls of the *southern* shrine (ten vayil Sri koyil) and No. 383 of 1924, by the same donor, inscribed on the walls of the *northern* shrine (vada vayil Sri koyil). I am disposed to assign both of them to *Gandaraditya* for the following reasons :

The gifts are made in both cases by one *Nakkan Akkara-Mangaiyar,* said to be the daughter of *Devanar* of this shrine *(tali)* and to be the wife of *Pillai Seramanar.* One is a gift of a lamp-stand weighing 215 *palams* and a capital endowment of 12 *kalanjus* of gold to the Mahadeva of the *southern* shrine of Avantikandarpa Isvaram (364 of 1924). The other relates to the gift of a lamp-stand weighing 190 *palams* and an endowment of 12 *kalanjus* of gold for a lamp to be burnt before the Mahadeva of the *northern* shrine of Avani Kandarpa Isvara Griham (383 of 1924). Both the endowments were placed under the protection of the *Panmahesvaras.*

While the earlier three gifts to the two shrines of this temple, of the period of Aditya I, refer to a gift of a perpetual lamp to be burnt in each of the *twin* shrines of Avani Kandarpa Isvaram, the two inscriptions now considered record separately gifts made *individually* to each of the two shrines. Hence it may be inferred that these two belong to a period just subsequent to that of Aditya I.

Further, there is mention of *Pillaiyar Seramanar,* said to be the husband of the donor of the above two endowments. The *Cheramans* played a considerable part in the Chola country during the reigns of Aditya I and of Parantaka I.*

Hence, the Rajakesarivarman referred to in these two inscriptions should relate to a *successor* of Parantaka I. In Rajakesari Gandaraditya's inscriptions, his highest regnal year so far known is his *ninth* year (Inscription No. 215 of 1911). Hence these two Rajakesari inscriptions of the *sixth* year may be assigned to Gandaraditya. Paleographically also, these inscriptions can be assigned to this period.

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*See Tillaisthanam inscription of Rajakesarivarman Aditya I : Inscription No. 286 of 1911, also Gramam inscription (No. 739 of 1905) for mention of a Kerala general called Vellan Kumaran.

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The other Rajakesari records assignable to Sundara Chola (Nos. 365, 374 367 and 307 of 1924) and to Rajaraja I (No. 382 of 1924) need not be discussed here for the purpose of fixing the date of this temple.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the Kilaiyur temple must have been built just a little before, or in, the 13th year of Aditya I. If, for any reason to be revealed by further research or future discovery, the inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesari is not assignable to Aditya I then it is certain that the temple came into existence in or *before* the 22nd year of Aditya I. (See also 'Four Chola Temples' : pl. 6).

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I. Agastyesvaram (with square sikhara)
(or Tenvayil Srikoyil) of Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham of Kilaiyur
(Southern Shrine)

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
357 of 1924	(a) South Wall	Rajakesarivarman	13th Year *Cf.* 224 of 1894 S.S.I-V.-523 Tiruvaiyaru.	Aditya I	Gift of 8 'ma' of land, newly brought under cultivation for burning one perpetual lamp *in each of the two shrines* in the temple of *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaram* under orders of *Nakkan Pudi-Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Kandan,* son of *Pagaividai Isvarattu Devanar of Paluvur.*
355 of 1924	South Wall	...rivarman (built over at the beginning)	22nd Year *Cf.* Lalgudy 5th year Parakesari no. 117of 1928-29, Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan	Aditya I	Gift of land for burning a perpetual lamp in the *two shrines* of the temple of *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham by a certain Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan.*
360 of 1924		Rajakesarivarman	22nd Year	Aditya I	Gift of land, after reclamation, for burning one perpetual lamp in each of the two shrines in the temple of *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham by Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan.*

I. **Agastyesvaram (with square sikhara)**—*Contd.*

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
359 of 1924	South Wall	Madirai Konda Parakesarivarman	25th Year	Parantaka I	Undertaking by the Assembly of Uttamadani Chaturvedimangalam for the daily supply of ghee for a lamp in the temple in lieu of interest on gold received.
358 of 1924	,,	,,	37th Year	Parantaka I	Gift of gold by a lady for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadeva at *Avani-Kandarpa-puram.*
356 of 1924	,,	Parakesarivarman	15th Year	Uttama Chola	Gift of land to a certain person by the Assembly of Kunrak-Kurram under orders of *Paluvettaraiyar Kandan Maravan* on condition that the donee should pay 25 'pon' annually as assessment.
363 of 1924	(b) East wall	Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman	16th Year	Rajaraja I	Gift of land for daily offerings and for worship to the Gods of the *two* shrines at *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaram*—a *devadana* of Kunrak-Kurram.
364 of 1924	(c) North wall	Rajakesarivarman	6th Year	Gandaraditya	Gift of a lamp-stand and gold for burning a perpetual lamp by a certain lady in the shrine of *Ten-vayil Sri Koyil Mahadeva* in the temple of *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaram.*

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I. **Agastyesvaram (with square sikhara)**—*Contd.*

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
365 of 1924	(c) North wall	Rajakesarivarman	10th Year see 367 of 1924	Sundara Chola (?)	The residents of *Avani-Kandarpapuram* had the inscription engraved to the effect that the tax (Manrupadu) prevailing at *Nandipuram* from olden times should also be in force in this village. Order was issued by the *Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandanar.*
		,,			
370 of 1924		,,	12+1=13th Year	Sundara Chola (?)	Assignment of temple land to a certain individual by the authorities of the temple at the instance of *Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandanar.*
367 of 1924		,,	1(6)th Year (corrected later into 11th Year)		Registers the order communicated to *Velan Chintamani, the Headman of* Tattanur, permitting the adoption of the old taxes prevailing at Nandipuram for the village of Paluvur, by the Chief, Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Maravan Kandanar, to whom Karambiyam *Pirantakan alias Karu-vidaip-Peraraiyan* had petitioned.
	East wall of *Mukhamandapa*		cf. See 365 of 1924 also 374 of 1924 S.I.I. XIII-344 (refer to Nandi-puram scales of local taxation)		
368 of 1924	(c) North wall	Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman	36th Year	Parantaka I	Gift of reclaimed land for a perpetual lamp in the *two shrines* of the temple.
369 of 1924					Gift of land at Pasunkulattur, a *devadana* of the temple, for a perpetual lamp in the *two shrines* by Kurukadikilan Uran Pidaran.
366 of 1924		Parakesari	16th year	Parantaka I	Gift of land to Mahadeva of Avanigan-darva-Isvara-griham.

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II. Cholisvaram (with circular sikhara)
(or Vadavayil Srikoyil)* of Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham of Kilaiyur
(Northern Shrine)

***This expression means: The northern shrine. But it is wrongly translated by the Government Epigraphist as "the shrine of Mahadeva on the northern gate" (S.I.I. XIII, The Cholas, No. 154). There is neither a southern nor a northern gate at all in this temple. It has only one gateway on the western side.**

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
383 of 1924	(a) South wall	Rajakesarivarman	6th Year	Gandaraditya	Gift of money for burning a perpetual lamp in the northern shrine.
382 of 1924	,,	,,	9th Year	Rajaraja I	An undertaking by the temple servants to burn a perpetual lamp in the northern shrine in lieu of the money received from a resident of *Avani-Kandarpa-puram.*
381 of 1924	,,	Parakesarivarman	13th Year	Uttama Chola	Gift of an image of Ganapati, a pedestal and a gold-flower by the temple manager Navalurudaiyan Kandan Tevadi to the temple with the permission of *Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Sundara Solan.*
378 of 1924	,,	Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman (i.e., Parantaka I)	24th Year	Parantaka I (Cf. 380)	Gift of three forehead plates of gold, collected from many sources, by Kamak-kodanar. Also an undertaking by the temple servants to burn two perpetual lamps in the temple out of the money realised from several sources in the 26th year of the king for which 180 sheep were purchased.

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II. **Cholisvaram (with circular sikhara)**—*Contd.*

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
380 of 1924	South wall	Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman	26th Year	Parantaka I	Gift of reclaimed land for a perpetual lamp.
379 of 1924 SII. XIX no. 308	,,	Parakesarivarman Uttama Choladeva	12th Year	Uttama Chola	Gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp in the *northern shrine* of the temple of Mahadeva at *Avani-Kandarpa-Isvaragriham*, a *devadana of Mannu-Perumpaluvur* in Kunrak-Kurram.
387 0f 1924	(b) North wall	Rajakesarivarman	17th Year	?	Gift of money for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple by Virasola Anukkan Kunavan Dharanivallabhan.
386 of 1924	,,	Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman	40th Year	Parantaka I	Gift of reclaimed land for a perpetual lamp.
385 of 1924	,,	Rajaraja Kesarivarman (alias Rajarajadeva; *Tirumagalpola* introduction)	27th Year	Rajaraja I	At the request of the queen *Nakkan Panchavan Mahadevi*, the daughter of *Avani-Kandarpa-purattu* devanar of Paluvur, to provide for offerings and worship in the temple, the king granted the additional income of paddy due on some lands which were surveyed and assessed (excepting the *devadana* lands of Urangudi).
384 of 1924	(c) East wall	Rajaraja Kesarivarman ("who destroyed the ships at Salai")	11th Year	Rajaraja I	Gift of land for a perpetual lamp.

Inscriptions on pillars in the mandapa in front of the Southern Shrine

Inscription Series	Where found	Name of the king	Regnal Year of the ruler	Authorship attributable to—	Gist of the inscriptions
375 of 1924	On a pillar *mukhamandapa*				In early characters and unfinished, this inscription seems to state that the pillar is the gift of a certain Manjana mudikondan alias Rajaraja Vanji Ilango of Kurinjippadi.
376 of 1924	on four pillars *mukhamandapa*				On four lion pillars in the same *mandapa* are engraved the names of: *Kaliyuganirmalan* *Gangamattandan* *Maravan Manadhanan* *Araiyagal araiyuli.*
373 of 1924	East wall *mukhamandapa*	Parakesari	4th Year		Damaged—gift of gold for a perpetual lamp—quotes the 16th year Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola and Adigal Paluvettaraiyar.

[Reproduced from my book, Four Chola Temples]

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Ashta Parivara Devatas

All early Chola temples have only one *prakara* enclosed by a *madil,* wall of enclosure, with a *gopura* to serve as a gateway. Inside this *madil* and close to its wall—except in the case of Chandesvarar's, which is located close to the main shrine—there are eight subsidiary shrines called the *Ashta parivara-koyil* (alayam) housing eight deities. These shrines are different from the attached or limb shrines **(anga-alayam)** round the *garbhagriha* of the Pallava Kailasanathar Temple at Kanchipuram.

The inscription of the 28th year of Parantaka I found on the south wall of the Kadambavanesvarar temple at Erumbur is unique as it is the only one, so far known, that mentions that eight sub-shrines for the *Ashta parivara devatas* were built along with the main shrine. The names of the deities are not mentioned, nor do the eight sub-shrines exist here today.

In the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai, there are six sub-shrines round the main shrine; each is an *ekatala* structure with an *ardhamandapa* in front. There are *no* deities in them now.

The Sundaresvarar temple at Tirukkattalai has *seven* sub-shrines, intact and with deities housed in them. They are those of Surya, Saptamatrikas, Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, Jyeshtha, Chandra and Chandesvarar.

At Kilaiyur there are sub-shrines for Ganapati, Saptamatrikas, Subrahmanyar and Chandesvarar round the temple of Avani Kandarpa Isvara Griham.

There is an inscription of the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman (*alias* Aditya I) on the wall of the Airavatesvarar temple at Niyamam which mentions a gift by Adigal Kandan Marambavai, the queen of Nandivarman III for the supply of ghee, milk and curds for the worship of the main deity and the *Parivara devatas.*

An inscription of the 27th year of Aditya I (258 of

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1903) at Tirupparaitturai mentions a gift of land for offerings to Saptamatrukkal (Saptamatrikas), Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, *Tiru*-Kettaik-kilatti (Jyeshtha devi) and Aditta Pidarar (Surya).

The Virattanesvarar temple at Kilur has sub-shrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, Chandra, Surya and the *Saptamatrikas*.

In the Muchukundesvarar temple at Kodumbalur there now exist *four* out of the eight sub-shrines. One of the sub-shrines has no deity. The other three have Subrahmanyar, Chandesvarar and *Bhairavar*.

In the Sundaresvarar temple at Nangavaram there are four shrines. Two shrines with round *sikharas* house Subrahmanya and (a later) Mahalakshmi. One is for the Saptamatrikas which is rectangular in shape and has a wagon-roof. Another for Ganapati is apsidal in shape.

An inscription of the 10th regnal year of Rajaraja I mentions that Vanavan Muvendavelar set up images of the *Ashta Parivaram* in the temple of Tiruppurambiyam and made provision for twilight lamps and offerings to these deities.

Now the question arises as to what the eight deities of the *Ashta-parivara-Alayam* are.

The *Kasyapa Silpam* gives the names of the eight deities. They are Vrshabha-devar (Nandi), Agni devar or Agni, Durgai, Saptamatas, Virabhadra, Vinayaka (Ganapati), Shanmuga (Subrahmanya), Jyeshtha, Vishnu, or Katyayani and Surya (46th *pathalam*).

On the other hand, the *Mayamatam* prescribes the following eight *parivara devatas*: Vrshabha, Ganatipan, Brahma, Matrikas, Guhan, Aryan, Achyutan and Chandesan.

In the temples of the early Chola age, there is neither Vishnu nor Brahma among the *Parivara devatas*. There are eight subshrines in addition to Nandi in a *mandapa* in front of the main shrine. There is no doubt or uncertainty about seven of them as we find

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seven subshrines with the original deities at Tirukkattalai. They are those of Surya, Saptamatrikas, Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, Jyeshtha, Chandra and Chandesvarar.

Nilakanta Sastri holds that the eighth subshrine is that of Nandi (The Colas—pp. 700 & 705). We have pointed out that the Muchukundesvarar temple at Kodumbalur has a subshrine of Bhairavar in the north-east corner of the *prakara*. That this should be the eighth deity of the *Parivara Alaya* is reinforced by the existence of a Bhairavar sub-shrine in the north-east of the *prakara* of the temple of Agastyesvaram at Kiliyanur. Thus in addition to Nandi in the *Nandimandapa,* we had in early Chola temples eight subshrines—Bhairavar being the eighth deity.

The excavations at Kodumbalur indicated that there were 15 (16?) subshrines round the Muvarkoyil of which only the basement could be traced now. We are not in a position to know what deities were housed in them. The *Mayamatam* describes temples which may have 16, 24 or 32 subshrines. We are at a loss to know which deities were housed in these subshrines.

The worship of the Saptamatrikas and Jyeshtha devi fell into disuse as a result of the influence of the Nayanmars and Alvars; Tondaradipodi Alvar denounces Jyeshtha worship.

THE GOPURAM—ITS EVOLUTION

Like the sky-scrapers of the Western World, it is the *gopuram* that dominates the South Indian landscape. It is the main gateway of a temple, the unique achievement and glory of Dravidian art. It has been pointed out that "in the boldness of its marvellous execution, it remains unsurpassed;" and judged by any standard, it stands favourable comparison with any other form of architecture, Eastern or Western.

In primitive times, there was a bamboo gateway which served as the entrance to village enclosures.

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In later times, towns, palaces and houses of Gods were provided with gateways.

In the days of the supremacy of Buddhism in India, *stupas* were built all over the land, and *toranas* were erected at the four cardinal points to serve as gateways to these monuments as at Barhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The *toranas* of Sanchi richly ornamented with bas-reliefs illustrating the events of Buddha's life as well as stories of his previous births (jataka stories) are really marvellous monuments of this class. And some of the bas-reliefs on slabs which once covered the *stupa* itself contain representations of gateways to cities, palaces and fortresses; they are generally two-storeyed, crowned by a *sala* type of pavilion (resembling a wagon-roof).

James Fergusson held the view that the term *gopurams* applied to the lofty towers over the entrances to Southern temples and that "the later style of *gopuram* dates from the *sixteenth century* and *do not properly belong to the original Dravida temples*. They were probably intended for purposes of defence against invasion and plunder". The question of the erection of walls of enclosure of temples for the purpose of defence did not arise before the invasion of South India by the Muslims in the 14th century and later on during the Anglo-French Wars of the 18th century. Even the officers of the Archaeological Department believed that the tall *gopurams* were the creation of only Pandyan and Vijayanagara rulers. But these views are out-dated and have to be given up. *Gopurams* with three, five and seven storeys were built even during the period of the Chola rulers of Tanjavur, i.e. even from the 9th century A.D. onwards.

The Manasara

The Manasara is an ancient and authoritative text on *silpa sastra*. This work conceives of and describes

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five kinds of *gopurams* adorning the main gateways in the concentric walls of enclosure. The main entrance to the first *prakara* (antarmandala) has one or two storeys. It is called *dvara-sobha*. The gateway to the second court which generally has two to four storeys is named *dvara-sala*. The gateway of the third court is named *dvara-prasada* and is to be provided with three to five storeys. The gateways to the fourth *prakara* with four to seven storeys is termed *dvara-harmya*. The gateway of the fifth *prakara* may have seven to sixteen storeys and is named *dvara-gopura*. Srirangam however has as many as seven *prakaras* and twenty-one *gopurams*.

The main entrance to a temple is generally styled *Lakshmi-dvara*. It is likely to have been adorned with sculptures of Gajalakshmi on the lintel of the gateway. It may be added that the main gateway to the palace at Uraiyur, the capital of the Chola kings of the Sangam age, is said to have been similarly decorated.

Kalinga

In Kalinga, the Buddhist *torana* model was adapted to a Hindu temple. One of the finest of the existing ornamental *toranas* resting on two stout, fluted pillars is found at the entrance to the Muktesvara temple at Bhuvaneswar (early 10th century A.D.); but there were perhaps earlier examples of this type.

We shall deal with the development of the *gopuram* during the Pallava and Chola periods.

Pallava

The Draupati *ratha* at Mamallapuram is a monolithic temple dedicated to Durga and its entrance is surmounted by a beautiful *makara-torana*. The *sikharas* of the *Bhima* and the Ganesa *rathas* in the same place furnish the prototype for the wagon-roof feature of the later *gopurams* (*Sala*-type pavilion).

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The taller structural *shore-temple* at Mamallapuram has a gateway in the front wall of the sanctum topped by a *Sala* type pavilion. There are guardian deities on either side of the gateway. Here for the first time in South India, the *torana* has given way to a new style of gateway. It is not yet, as in later developments, a separate structure in front of the sanctum and detached from it.

There is further evolution in the Kailasanathar temple at Kanchipuram. The sanctum is surrounded by a few closely built-in sub-shrines (*anga-alaya*). There was a detached *ardhamandapa,* later linked to the sanctum by a new *mandapa.* All these parts and the *prakara* were enclosed by a *wall of chapels,* consisting of two storeyed pavilions about fifty in number. On the north and south sides of this wall of enclosure opposite to the centre of the sanctum where the linga is installed, these are taller chapels. But on the western side of the *wall of chapels,* there is a real gateway with guardian deities; but this has been later walled up and closed. In front of the temple on the east, there is a separate structure with entrances on both sides leading to the *prakara,* with a wagon-roof pavilion on the top. This was the embryonic *gopuram.* But Mahendravarman III, son of Rajasimha (A.D. 8th century) built an additional shrine co-axial with the main shrine built by his father. But it is an unusual feature to find a small subsidiary shrine erected in front, and obstructing the direct view, of the main shrine, a departure from the original plan.

The Cholas

The fine tradition in temple-building established by the Pallavas was carried to greater heights by the Cholas. A Western scholar in a recent book on the subject remarks :

> "There are contemporary inscriptions which refer to the building of *gopuram,* but I have been

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unable to find a photograph or description of any extant early *Chola Gopura*."

This conclusion is due to the lack of a systematic scientific survey of South Indian monuments, chiefly Chola and Pandya, in spite of the valuable work of the Archaeological Survey in India in other fields of work and elsewhere. Neglect, deterioration due to time and weather and unscientific renovation have led to the loss of many of these architectural treasures of the past.

The Avani Kandarpa-Isvara-griham at Kilaiyur (Tiruchy district) has the *original early Chola gopuram*. There are two original *dvarapalas* in front on both sides of the gateway of the *gopuram* which faces the west. The main gateway portion is built of stone and the superstructure of three storeys (*nilai*) of brick, chunam and stucco. It is crowned by a wagon-shaped pavilion (*sala*) and is adorned at the top with five *stupies*. This is illustrated in my books Four Chola Temples and Early Chola Art I, Pls. 50–51. There is another equally ancient and interesting *gopuram* in front of the Sundaresvarar temple in the neighbouring village of Melappaluvur, a mile away from Kilaiyur. Both the temples belong to the period of Aditya I (accession A.D. 871). The latter perhaps a little later (Early Chola Art, Part I, Pl. 53).

The *gopuram* is only an architectural projection of the *vimana* with suitable modifications to serve its role in a temple-complex. In the place of the sanctum of the *vimana*, there is provision for a gateway in a *gopuram* called *dvara* or *tiruvasal*.

TANJAVUR

The next forward step is found in the great temple built at Tanjavur by Rajaraja I (between A.D. 1004 and 1014). It is not only the biggest and grandest of Dravidian temples, but is one of the finest products

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of Indian achievement in Architecture. There are two *gopurams* in front in the middle of the two concentric walls of enclosure; both these *gopurams* are shorter than the *vimana*.

The inner *gopuram* has three storeys topped by the *sala* type of pavilion crowned with five *stupis*. There are two giant *dvarapalas*, four armed, in the centre of the two sides of the facade adjoining the gateway on the east. This position is peculiar as later *gopurams* have *dvarapalas* in *koshtas* at the base close to the gateway. There are also bas-relief sculptures on the facade of the lower tier and they depict Puranic stories like the episodes of the Kiratarjuniya. I wonder if these bas-relief sculptures could be considered *Pallava* as held by some scholars.

The outer *gopuram* has five storeys and is taller than the inner. The outer niches of the *gopuram* are empty. In the first storey in the interior on the inner face, there are sculptures of Brahma (as Pitamaha) and Dakshinamurti — the first instance so far known of the installation of deities in the interior of *gopurams*.

Seven-storeyed Gopuram - Chidambaram

The next important development in this sphere of South Indian Art and Architecture is the evolution of the *seven-storeyed gopuram* under the patronage of the later Cholas, from Kulottunga I to Kulottunga III (A.D. 1070 to 1216).[3] And now, the centre of gravity in this field of art shifts to Chidambaram. In this period,

[3]The Irungolisvaram at Koyattur - modern Nilakantesvaram at Laddigam - which has to be assigned to the time of Kulottunga I (of the later Chola period, not of Rajaraja I, See Four Chola Temples p. 38) has an elementary form of *gopuram* similar to that in the Kailasanathar temple at Kanchi (8th century A.D.).

The Laddigam *gopuram* is of stone, and consists of a *dvara*, a stone layer over the cornice, the *griva*, the *sala* type of *sikhara* with gable ends on either side, crowned with *kudus* and a stone *stupi* (once there were three *stupies*).

In the *griva*, there are *deva-koshtas* crowned with *kudus*. The niche figures of the *griva* - a unique feature of this *gopura* - are Balasubrahmanya on the elephant

(Contd. on next page)

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the *gopuram* dwarfs the *vimana* and dominates the temple-complex and the ever-enlarging temple-city. In spite of this new development, the essential features of the Tanjavur example were still followed at Darasuram and Tribhuvanam.

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in the east, Dakshinamurti in the south, seated Vishnu in the west and seated Brahma in the north.

While in the *Choladesa* proper we see the evolution of the *seven-storeyed gopuram* in the period of Kulottunga Chola I and his successors (later Chola period) here in the *Kongunadu,* we have in the same period, the simplest type of *gopuram* as in the Pallava age.

This will dispel the theory that there was a uniform, consistent and continuous form of artistic development from precedent to precedent. There was a variety of stylistic features in the same age in different parts of the Chola empire (see Fig 14, plate VII, The Colas, 2nd edition, K.A.N Sastri; Also plate 18 of J.C. Harle's Temple Gateways in South India).

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14 Conclusion

Dravidian Art

Dravidian art had many regional centres and its manifestations could be studied in the region south of the Krishna. The *Manasara* in its section on *Silpa-lakshana* describes the four kinds of artists (*silpins*) and their mythical origin. *Brahma* the creator, by the grace of Siva, is the Mahavisvakarma and he has four faces, and from his southern face called Visvavid was born *Maya*. It is this school of Mayamata that seems to have been in practice in the Tamil Nadu.

The *Brihat Samhita* attributed to the sixth century A.D. (Chapter 57, J.N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Chapter 57, App. B. pp. 579–589) states :–

"The face of an image should be *twelve angulas* wide and long according to its own *angula,* but Nagnajit says that the face length is *fourteen* (angulas) and it is the *Dravida* type of measurement".

This clearly proves the existence of a distinctive Southern Dravidian school of art even before the date of the *Brihat Samhita* (6th century A.D.). This only confirms the conclusions about the images of gods and goddesses and their temples described in the Tamil *Sangam* works (vide Chapter 2 of ECA I.).

Kochchenganan one among the kings of the later *Sangam* period is said to have built 70 *madakkovils* for Siva. The *Silappadikaram* describes the building of a temple for Kannaki at the Chera capital and similar ones at the capitals of the neighbouring states.

Ayyadigal Kadavarkon was a Pallava king. Later in his life, he is said to have renounced his throne,

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worshipped at many temples and sung a song on every one he visited. The collection of his songs is known as *Kshetra Venba*. As many as 22 temples are thus glorified. He should have flourished before Appar and Sambandar (7th century A.D.).

No art can flourish without antecedents. The temples of the Sangam age should have been made of perishable materials and when the Pallavas turned to the stone medium, the *Rathas* and other monuments built by them at Mamallapuram should be considered as the prototypes of certain monuments in perishable materials found earlier in the Tamil country.

The existence of a distinct and vigorous Dravidian school of art is reinforced by another source, the prose romance in Sanskrit called *Avanti Sundari Katha Sara* by Acharya Dandin who lived in the 8th century A.D. at Kanchi enjoying royal patronage. His great grandfather was Damodara, an associate of the poet Bharavi, the author of Kiratarjuniya, patronised by Vishnuvardhana, Ganga Durvinita and Pallava Simhavishnu. Dandin suffered a life of wanderings during the Chalukyan invasions and when peace returned, he settled down at Kanchi. At this time, it is said that an architect named Lalitalaya, son of Mandhata called on Dandin. He is said to have been an expert in constructing 96 kinds of *prasadas* (temples) and six kinds of *yantras* (mechanical contrivances) and possessed all the 36 qualifications prescribed for an architect (*acharya*). He is said to have mentioned to Dandin and his audience that he had mended and refitted one of the arms of the image of Vishnu reclining on his serpent couch on the sea shore of Mamallapuram, and requested them to verify and say if the refitting was worthy of the image, a work of art of the great ancient architects. Then Dandin and his friends, along with Lalitalaya, went to Mamallapuram. The party saw the Vishnu image, washed by the waves of the sea.

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They examined the image closely and could not discover any trace of mending in the arms. The party asked the architect which of the arms he had mended. The architect was greatly pleased and felt that his labours had been amply rewarded. Such is the literary tradition and evidence of the prevalence of a great flourishing school of Dravidian Art at Kanchipuram.

After the decline of the Satavahanas, the art schools of Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Vengi, Badami, Kanchipuram (*cum* Mamallapuram) and Madurai (though almost all the earliest vestiges here have been destroyed during the various political convulsions) became *important centres of Dravidian art*. The sixth century saw the decline of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism. Hence the large number of Hindu monuments from the sixth century onwards. And we have also evidence of mutual borrowings among these various art-centres. At Badami and its associated cities of Mahakuta, Aihole, and Pattadakkal, we have different styles of architecture struggling for fuller expression, which came to be later designated the northern (Aryan or *Nagara*), the southern (*Dravidian*) and the central type (*Vesara* - Kadamba - Chalukya - Hoysala).

There is a stone inscription in the Isvara temple at Peddavaduguru, Gooty taluk, Anantapur district, which mentions the name of the engraver of the grant *Mahendra Pallavachari*, during the rule of Chalukya *Satyasraya* alias *Ereyiti-yadigal*. The latter is a surname of Pulikesin II, and therefore this record belongs to the period of Pulikesan II, the contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendravarman (of the 7th century A.D.), not to the reign of Vikramaditya II or of his father Vijayaditya (of the 8th century) as the authors of the Madras Museum Bulletin (Vol. III Pt. I) have assigned it (p. 19). And the very name of the engraver suggests his connection with the Pallava country and

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its ruler Mahendravarman I (SII, IX Pt. I No. 46; Ins. no. 343 of 1920).

An inscription on the back of a *dvarapala* records the name of Gundaya Venginattu Velanadu (Pl. VI, and Pl. Va, Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculpture by C. Sivaramamurti - Bulletin Madras Government Museum Vol. VII - No. 2). Sivaramamurti comments on it thus :—

"The striking resemblance of the Early Chalukya carvings to those of Pattadakkal and Ellora group, and the occurrence of the name of *Gundaya* as the sculptor of the Vengi Court, several decades earlier than the *Gunda* of the Pattadakkal inscription has something to suggest about the peregrinations of the sculptors' families from one country to another in quest of royal favour and patronage, and it is not unlikely that the master Gunda of the Pattadakkal temples is in some manner a descendant of the earlier Gundaya of the Eastern Chalukyan Court."

Here are a few names of foreign architects employed in constructing the temples at Pattadakkal.

The Papanatha temple (in the northern style) was built by *Chattara Revadi Ovajja* of the Sarva Siddhi Acharyas, an architect of the southern country (*ten-kana-dise-madidor*) and one acquainted with the secrets of *Silemmudra marman* (stone cutting and carving) and a member of the Guild of *Sarva Siddhi Acharyas*.

The inscriptions in the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakkal mention (*a*) Sri Gunda, the *Sutradhari* who made the temple of the queen of Vikramaditya II who was given the fillet called *Mume Perjjerepu* and the title of Tirubhuvanachari in recognition of his great merit and (*b*) *Sarva Siddhi Acharya,* "the abode of all virtues, the maker of many cities, houses, palaces, vehicles, seats and couches (mani, makuta, ratna, chudamani, *Temkana diseya sutradhari*) who made the temple of Lokesvara of Sri Loka-Mahadevi of Sri

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Vikramaditya who thrice conquered Kanchi."

These are great names of architects of the Dravida country (*tem-kana-diseya*) who gave of their best to the construction of the temples at Pattadakkal. We are not in a position to decide which their original home was—Kanchi, Vengi or the Kadamba region. These foreign experts possessed great technical skill, and enjoyed royal patronage and honours. They seem to have adapted themselves to the local conditions and traditions and raised monuments with a happy blend of different kinds of style. The hand of these great architects is seen in the monuments of Pattadakkal and its surroundings.

End of an Epoch

Temple building and its allied arts flourished under the Pallavas. Monolithic temples, the *Rathas* at Mamallapuram and structural stone temples adorned the land. Brick temples were rebuilt of stone. The Dharmaraja Ratha formed the model for the *vimana* of the shore temple at Mamallapuram and the Kailasanathar at Kanchipuram in the days of Rajasimha *alias* Narasimha II.

Kailasanathar Temple

R. Nagaswamy has recently published a very interesting booklet on the Kailasanathar temple. He claims that it was built according to the prescription of the *Agamas* in the *Paramasayi pada* type with 81 squares considered suitable for worship by kings.[1]

[1]The Kasyapa *Silpa Sastra* mentions the *Nava-navamsa* of 81 *padas*; the central 9 *padas* are assigned to Brahmadeva; in the next order there are 16 *padas*, and 49 in the next ring. The marginal ring constitutes 32 *padas*. The *devatas* mentioned in this Silpa text are the *dik-palas* and other *devatas*, different from those found in this temple.

Brahma is found in a Central Cell of the southern wall of enclosure, and *Vishnu* in a corresponding Cell of the northern wall of enclosure. Their positions are peculiar and different from the general practice followed in the early Chola age.

The *dik-palas* find their lodgement in the *koshtas* on the outer side of the *gopurams* in the later Chola period, as in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

We are not at present in a position to say which *Agama* or *Silpa Sastra*, if any, was followed in planning the construction of the Kailasanathar temple.

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The *Vastu-pada-devatas* found here are said to include the *Dik-palas, Ekadasa-Rudras, Dvadasa Adityas, Parivara devatas* and a large number of deities (the largest number in any single temple of this period) of the Hindu pantheon, Saivite or Vaishnavite.

Another unique feature of this temple is the erection of seven *'anga-alayas'* (limb-shrines) attached to the sanctum built round it and providing support to the *vimana*. These open out east or west and are adorned both inside and on the outer walls with Saivite deities. The chief sculptures in the *anga-alayas* are the Samhara-Tandava of Siva, Somaskanda in the shrine chamber with Siva flanked by Brahma and Vishnu on the back walls, Bhikshatanar, Gangadharar and Tripurantakar.

The outer walls of the main shrine are covered with large figures in bays filling the whole of the wall-space. The chief deities on these outer walls and the exterior of the walls of the *anga-alaya* are Gaja-Lakshmi, Rishabhavahanadevar, Yoga-Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Vinadharar, Urdhva-Tandavar, Gaja-Samharamurti, Hariharar, Simha-vahini, Jyeshtha-devi and Lakshmi.

There was a detached *mandapa* later connected with the sanctum. The sanctum and its open court are enclosed by a *madil* consisting of a large number of chapels, whose exterior overlooking the *prakara* are covered with sculptures of *vastu-pada-devatas*.

There are two gateways in the eastern and western sides. What was meant to be the front *gopuram* with a *sala* type *sikhara* was converted into an additional shrine by Mahendravarman III, the son of Rajasimha, the builder of the main shrine. On the front of the entrance there are eight shrines, two on the south and six on the north of the entrance built most probably by the queens (there is evidence at least for two of them).

Away from the main entrance, there is a sculpture of Nandi on a raised platform, over which there should

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have been a covered *mandapa* of which only the pillars exist now. Vestiges of a small sacred tank can also be seen in front of the Nandi *mandapa*.

The temple was the source of inspiration for the Chalukyan temple of Virupaksha at Pattadakkal, and in turn for the Rashtrakuta rock-temple of Kailasa at Ellora.

There are a few more temples in Kanchi which could be assigned to this period (8th century A.D.), the Tripurantakesvaram, the Matangesvaram (unfinished), the Piravadana Isvaram and the Iravasthana Isvaram, all more or less of the same type.

Iravasthana Isvaram

The Iravasthana Isvaram is situated at Konerikuppam, a suburb of Kanchi on the road from Kanchi to Madras. It faces the east. It consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *antarala* and a *mandapa*. Sculptures cover the whole of the wall space on its three free sides. On the southern side of the *antarala,* there is *Ganapati;* on the same side in the part of *garbhagriha,* the central figure is *Yoga-Dakshinamurti* with a *makara-torana* over it. There are *rishis* and *dvarapalas* on either side. The main sculpture on the western wall of the *garbhagriha* is a Siva-Tandavamurti with Bhikshatanar on the right and Gajasamharamurti on the left; there are *dvarapalas* at the ends. On the northern side, there is Brahma flanked by Gangadharar and Kalasamharar; there are *dvarapalas* at the two ends. On the northern side of the *antarala* there is a sculpture of Durga with eight hands riding on a lion.

Muktesvaram

The Muktesvaram, also at Kanchi, otherwise called Dharma Mahadevi Isvaram, was built in the 28th regnal year of Pallava Nandivarman II by his queen Dharma Mahadevi and named after her.

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The temple faces the west. It consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*.

The *ardhamandapa* rests on four pillars; the front two have lion-base, and the rear two are plain.

Inside the *ardhamandapa* on the northern wall, there are sculptures of Ravana-anugraha-murti (with Siva and Parvati above) and Siva-Tandava facing the south. On the sides of the gateway to the sanctum, there are figures of Ganga-Visarjana-murti and Siva-Tandava facing the west. Perhaps, they serve as *dvarapalas*.

On the southern wall, we have Siva-Tandavamurti, Chandesa and Siva-Parvati facing the north.

On the outerwalls of this temple, we have on the northern side sculptures of Urdhva-Tandava, Durga, Chandesa-Anugrahamurti, *dvarapala,* Subrahmanyar (with *akshamala* and *kamandalu*), Hariharar, Surya and Chandra.

On the eastern side (rear side) there are a *dvarapala*, Lingodbhavar (with Brahma on the north side and Vishnu on the south side), Surya and a *dvarapala*.

On the southern side, we have a *dvarapala,* Andakasuravadamurti, Yoga-Dakshinamurti, Siva in Yogasana, a *dvarapala*, Uma-Mahesvarar, Ganapati, Siva-Uma-Alinginamurti and a *dvarapala*.

These large-size sculptures in bays cover the whole wall-space; as in the case of Iravasthanesvaram and other earlier shrines mentioned above, there is no attempt to install figures in *devakoshtas*, nor the appreciation of the value of plain wall surface to serve as their background.

Virattanesvaram

The Virattanesvarar temple at Tiruttani is almost the last of the Pallava temples. It was built before the 18th regnal year of Aparajita-Vikravarman. It is built of fine polished black stone. Its *garbhagriha* is square, but its *sikhara* is apsidal. It has five *devakoshtas* with

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sculptures crowned with *makara-toranas* ; and in this respect, it seems to be the forerunner of the type of temples during the Aditya (I) phase of the early Chola period. Here we find for the first time the value of plain wall surface to serve as a background for the *devakoshtas*.

There seem also to have been in existence here the *ashta-parivara* shrines in the original temple scheme, but of all the deities of this group, only the set of the Saptamatrikas have come down to us, and they are now lodged loosely in the later *mandapa* in front of this temple. It seems likely that the plan of this temple influenced the builders of the Tirumulasthanap-perumanadigal at Tirukkalukkunram built in the days of Aditya I after his conquest of Tondaimandalam.

While Tiruttani has a square *garbhagriha* and an apsidal *sikhara*, the temple of Tirumulasthanapperumanadigal has an apsidal *garbhagriha*. Its roof does not exist at present. Perhaps it was also apsidal. As in the former, the temple at Tirukkalukkunram has also five *devakoshtas* with the same set of sculptures.

New situations and requirements led to new developments. The Vaishnavites wanted a three-storeyed *vimana* to house the three forms of Vishnu - the seated, the standing and the reclining. This was answered by the erection of the three-storeyed *vimana* of the Vaikunthanathar at Kanchipuram (Nandivarman II) and the Sundaravarada temple at Uttaramerur (Dantivarman).

The latter was built about the tenth year of Dantivarman by Paramesvarar, a resident of Pataka, a sun among architects and one well-versed in the essential features of decorative art with the help and cooperation of a number of other architects well-versed in architectural science.

Chola : Vijayalaya

There is an inscription of the third year (*irandavadin edir*) of a Parakesarivarman (SII XLX no 46) on a

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pillar in the *Amman* shrine of the temple at Tiruvilimilalai which mentions a gift of a silver dish to serve as the vessel for the *Sri-bali* offerings to the Lord by *Udaiyar Tantonri-tanich-chevagar*. Perhaps this expression refers to the king himself. The presiding deity at Tiruvilimilalai, according to inscriptions of this temple, was called *Tirut-tantonri Bhattarakar* or *Mahadevar* and it can be legitimately inferred that the Lord of this place was his favourite deity and so he might have assumed the title of *Udaiyar-Tantonrit-tanichchevagar,* the unparalleled devoted servant of the Lord of this place.

The peculiar wording of the date (using the normal Pandyan style) and the name of the donor in such terms —self-made matchless warrior—lead me to think that the Parakesari should be Vijayalaya himself (not Arinjaya). It may be recalled that in Tamil classics Vijayalaya is described as a warrior who had on his body 96 scars of wounds received in the battlefield.

About two inscriptions of an unspecified Parakesarivarman of his third and sixth regnal years found on pillars of the Sundarakuchambal Amman shrine in the Vilinathasvamin temple at Tiruvilimilalai (secured from the main central shrine after its re-building) the Government Epigraphist remarks :—

"As Parantaka I, who took Madura in or before the third year of his reign could not possibly have omitted to mention his characteristic *biruda* in two inscriptions of the 3rd and 6th years, we may presume that Parakesarivarman of the records in the Sundara Kuchambal shrine must have been earlier than Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman and perhaps identical with Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya" (3rd year, A.R. no. 439 of 1908; 6th year, A.R. no. 436 of 1908 and 32nd year of *Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman* i.e. Parantaka I, A.R. no. 440 of 1908).

The Madras Museum Plates of the 16th regnal year of Uttama Chola (SII, III Pt. III No. 128) mention

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three earlier gifts. The earliest of these refers to an endowment made to the temple of Uragam (Ulagalanda-perumal-koyil) at Kachchippedu (Kanchi) inscribed in stone (*sila lekha*) in the 22nd regnal year of a Parakesarivarman. The next two gifts are of the 9th year of Pallava Kampavarman and the 18th year of Parantaka I.

It may be of interest to quote the observations of the editor of the Copper Plate Grant :— "The unidentified Parakesarivarman referred to in l. 28 f. appears to be no other than Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya who was the first of the resuscitated line of the Tanjore Cholas".. "The statement in our grant that a stone inscription (*sila lekha*) of his 22nd year did provide permanent income to a temple at Kachchippedu is proof enough to show that he was the first of the new line, Vijayalaya and *had a powerful, long and prosperous rule like any of his powerful successors*".

It may be added that by his 22nd regnal year Vijayalaya had grown powerful enough to extend his empire over Tondaimandalam; and it is also evident that his political control and supremacy over the region of Kanchi was sufficiently effective to issue stone inscriptions in his own regnal year. The assumed date of his accession A.D. 850 is only tentative. It is likely to have been even a little earlier.

This aspect has to be borne in mind in assessing his activities and achievements in the confused period of the history of South India in the latter half of the 9th century A.D.

Apart from the installation of his patron deity Nisumbhasudani at his newly established capital, Tanjavur, the only structural stone temple built in his time and named after him is at Narttamalai.

Another bold experiment is the Vijayalaya-cholisvaram at Narttamalai. It has no precedent, but it absorbs some of the essential features of the earlier Pallava

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monuments and makes a departure. The *Omkara garbhagriha* and the *four talas,* and the circular *sikhara* are new features that give the monument a unique place. Side by side there are simple, graceful *eka-tala* temples like the one at Kaliyapatti.

Aditya I

Further strides are made in the age of Aditya I. Some of the gems of early Chola temples are found in his reign. The Avani Kandarpa Isvara-griham at Kilaiyur with two shrines side by side is the grandest of this series. Two shrines of *the same age* within a single compound with *two different kinds of sikhara* with sculptures of rare quality installed as *vimana-devatas,* with its original *gopuram* guarded by *dvarapalas* —all these make it a class by itself. The Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam and the Koranganathar temple at Srinivasanallur have stone sculptures of great plastic quality. The latter has a double-storeyed *garbhagriha* which served as the precedent for the Raja-rajesvaram at Tanjavur and for the stone-gateways of *gopuras* of the later Chola age. Aditya I's temples are found all over the Tamil country from Kannanur in the south to Takkolam in the north.

Parantaka I

The Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai, the Tiru-Alandurai Mahadevar temple at Kilappaluvur, the Kadambavanesvarar temple at Erumbur, the Gomuktisvarar (or Masilamanisvarar) temple at Tiru-vaduturai (in addition to the temples at *Tiru-namanallur* and *Gramam* on the northern borders of the Chola empire) form the nucleus of the next stage of development under Parantaka I.

In Parantaka I's reign, an experiment is tried to enlarge the area of the *garbhagriha* and install the sculpture of Agastya in the *antarala* of the *prasada.*

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Such an enlargement of the plinth of the *garbhagriha* can be seen at Tiruvaduturai, Kilur (Virattanesvarar temple) and Tiruvisalur. Sculptures at Pullamangai match those of Nagesvarar at Kumbakonam. The Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai marks the next stage. In the days of Sundara-chola—second half of the 10th century—Bhuti Vikrama Kesari built at Kodumbalur a temple with three *vimanas* (*vimanattraya*)—all in a line, *dvitala,* and with square, curvilinear *sikharas*—and 16 shrines for the *parivara devatas*. This temple stands as a class by itself, and their sculptures (the *vimana-devatas*) are of high artistic merit. The age of this temple is a matter of controversy (9th or 10th century A.D.). For reasons stated in the body of the book, I am inclined to attribute the temple to the latter half of the 10th century A.D., the age of Sundara Chola and Vira Pandya.

Sembiyan Mahadevi

Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, dominates the world of the Early Cholas. She re-builds of stone old brick temples, constructs new temples and makes lavish grants of land, gold, jewels and endowments for festivals, the feeding of the pious and the learned. Apart from other charities, the temple of Tirunallam she built in memory of her husband Gandaraditya and the newly founded temple and town named after her and called Sembiyan Mahadevi are monuments of her glory. Metal-casting received her special attention and some of the greatest works of art in South India are found in the temples she built and patronised. She found a loyal and devoted follower in Arumolideva (the future Rajaraja I) who was to succeed her son on the Chola throne and also carry on the great tradition in culture and art that she had so sedulously fostered throughout her long and dedicated life. Her absorbing attention to metal-casting

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gave a new direction and a lofty tone to the artistic tempo of this period.

Rajaraja I's brilliant victories, his huge spoils of war and his religious zeal conceived of a grand design. The result was the creation of a temple unsurpassed in its conception and execution the *Devalaya Chakravarti*—the Emperor among temples—a fitting memorial to so great a personality of many-sided accomplishments. It is inconceivable how he built so grand an edifice in so short a time, in a little more than ten years. It is only fitting that he spent the last year of his life in making and donating bronzes of deities to the temple of Rajarajesvaram he so dearly cherished. We pass on now to the period of Rajaraja (I) the Great who ushers in the Golden age of South India.

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Map, Sketch and Plans

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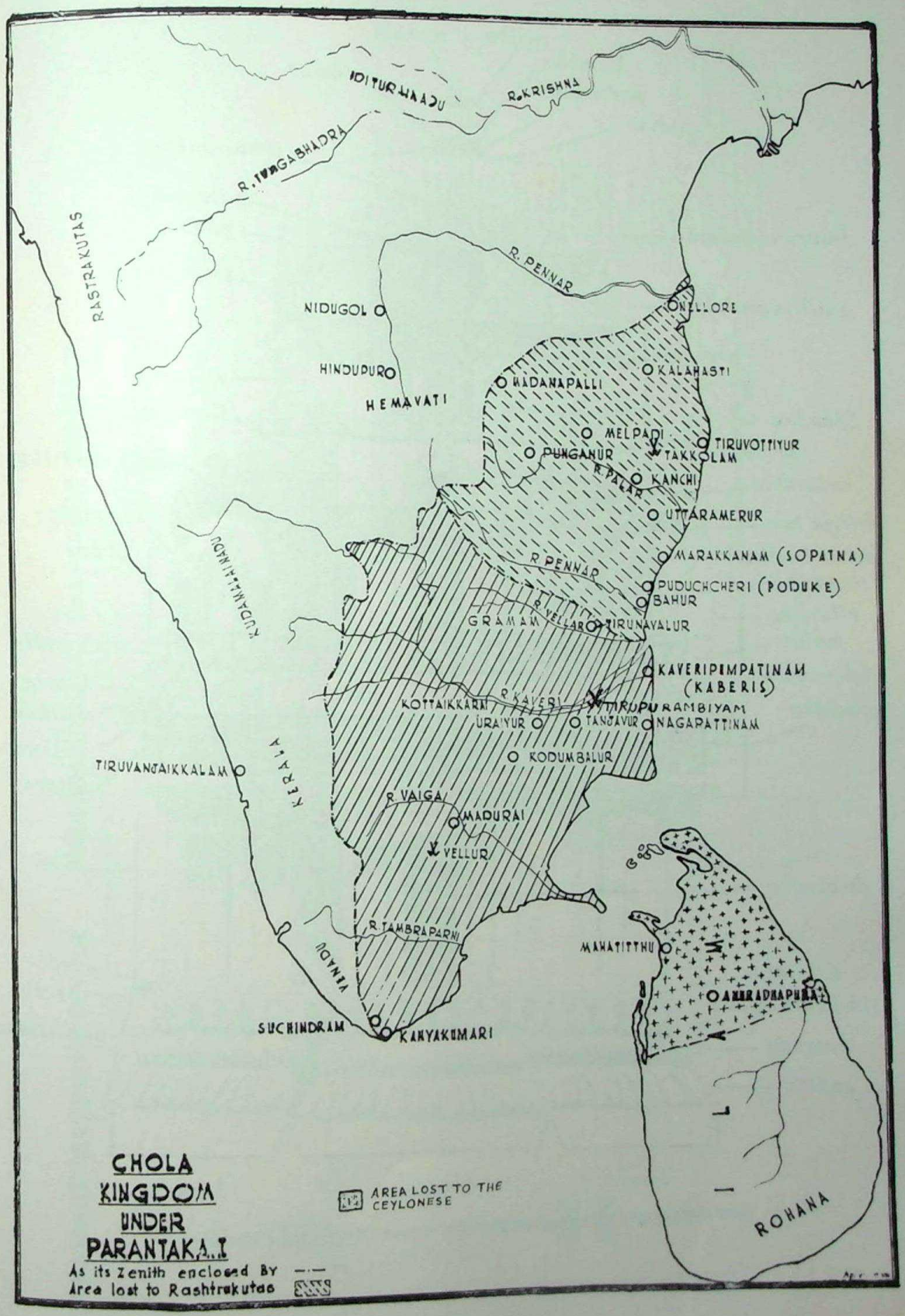

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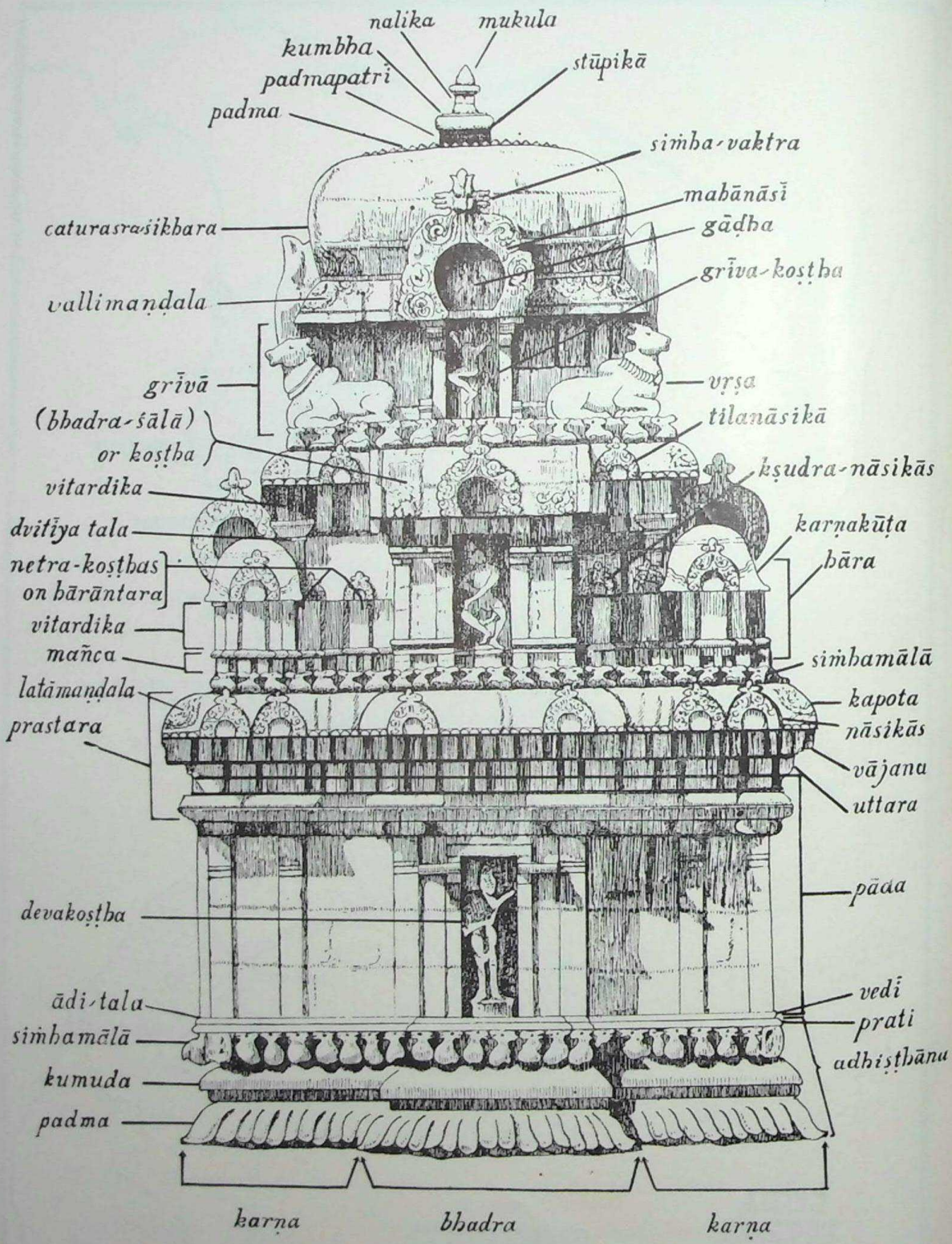
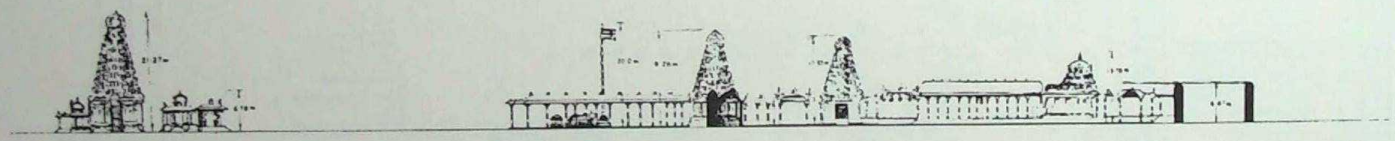


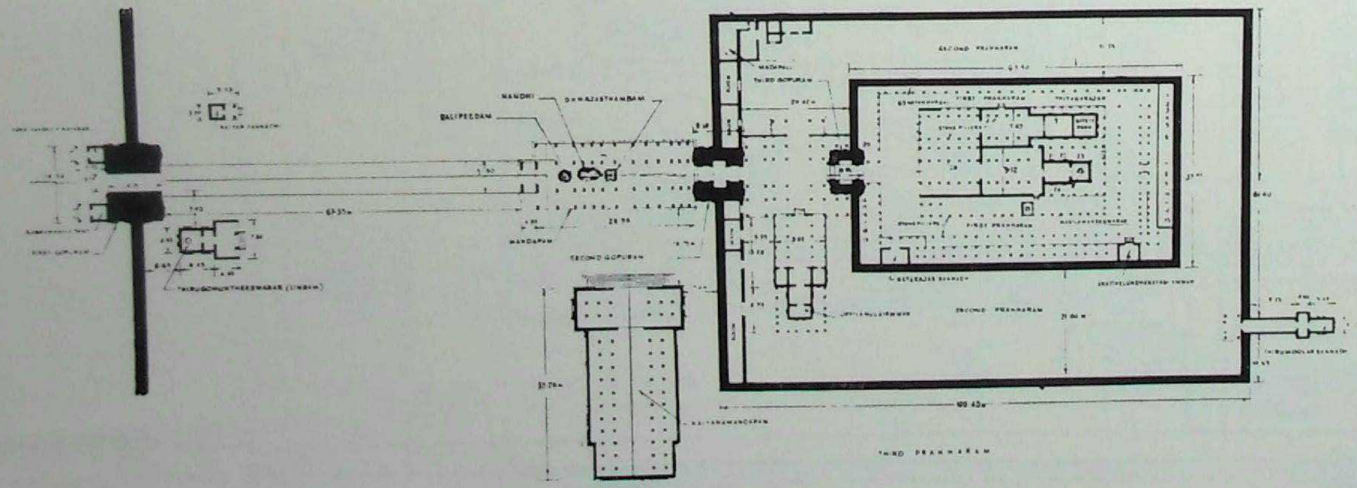
Sketch : Component parts of a vimana (Kodumbalur Muvarkoyil)

THIRUGOMUKTHEESWARAR TEMPLE - TIRUVAVADUTHURAI. THANJAVUR DISTRICT.

SCALE: 25mm : 10 METRES



SECTIONAL ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

REFERENCE

1. KANNIVINAYAGAR
2. GNANAMBAL
3. KALAGASTHEESWARAR
4. PANDIYALINGAM
5. KONGANESWARAR
6. KONGANESWARA AMMAN
7. SUBRAMANYA SWAMY.
8. SARASWATHI
9. MEENAKSHIAMMAN.
10. CHOKKALINGAM.
11. VISWANATHAR.
12. SERALINGAM.
13. MAHALAKSHMI.
14. CHANDHRAN.
15. PANCHALINGAM.
16. SANEESWARA BAGHAVAN.
17. BAIRAVAR
18. SOMALINGAM.
19. KOROOMBIGAI AMMAN
20. SURIAN.
21. STHALAVINAYAGAR.
22. AGASTHIYAR.
23. DHAKSHINAMURTHY.
24. DHURGAMBIGAI.
25. CHANDIGESWARAR.
26. STATUE OF THE TEMPLE ARCHITECT WITH SCALE USED BY HIM.

INNER DIMENSION OF MOOLASTHANAM

THIRUGOMUKTHEESWARAR SANNADHI	2.40 x 3.30	METRES
MABILAMANEESWARAR SANNADHI ...	3.00 x 3.00	"
OPPILAMULAI AMMAN SANNADHI ...	2.83 x 2.60	"
THIYAGARAJA SWAMY SANNADHI .	3.14 x 3.15	METRES

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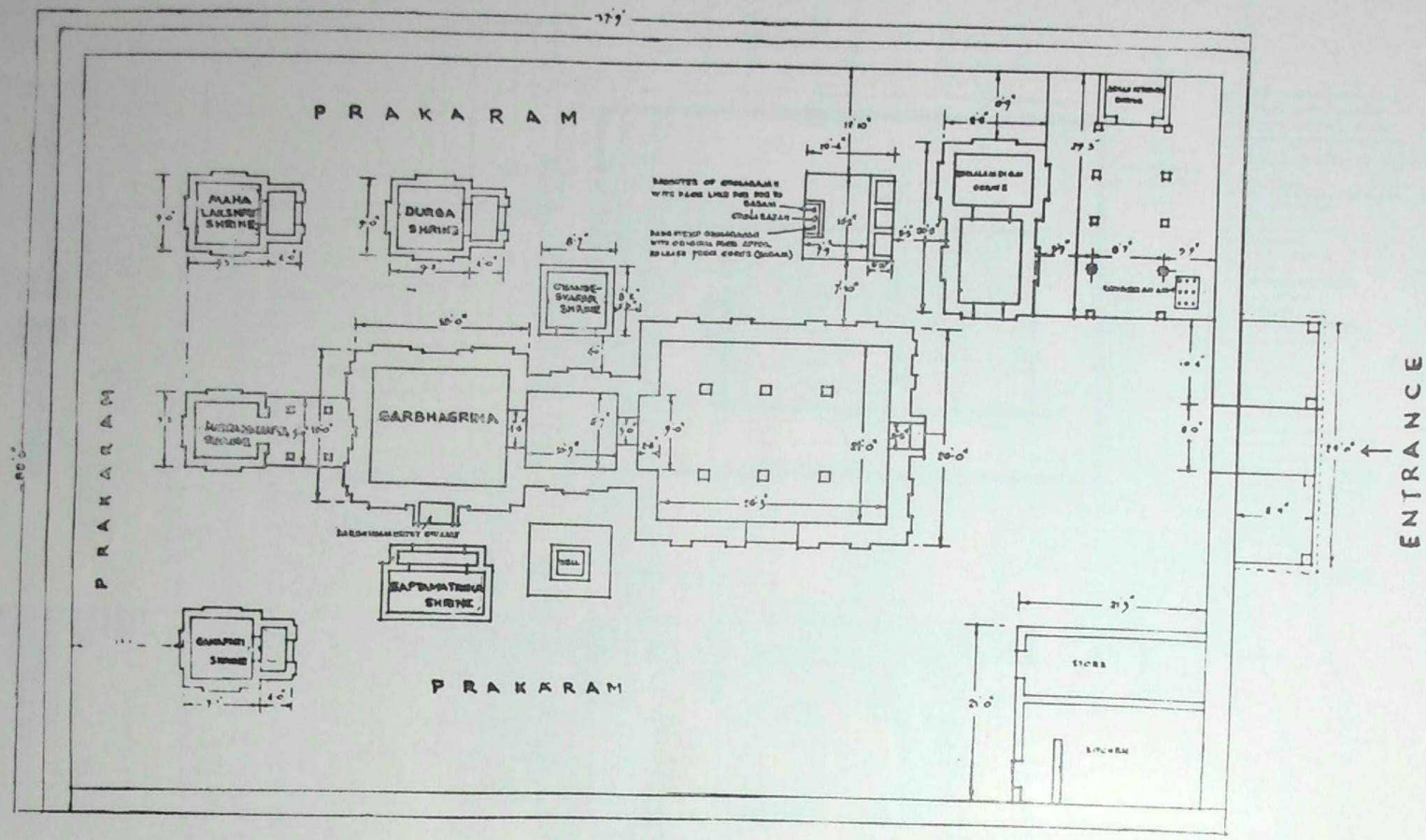
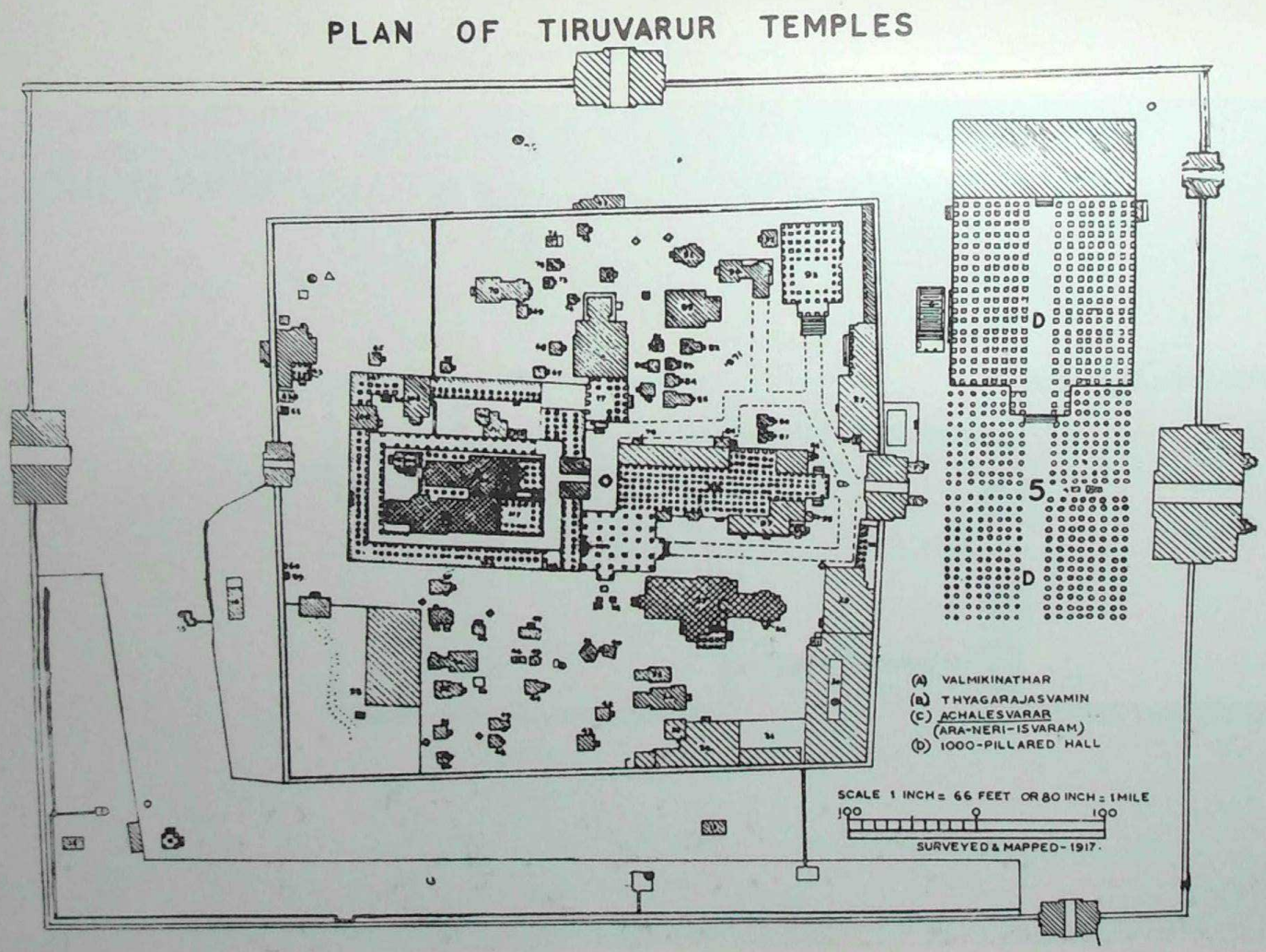


LAY-OUT SUNDARESVARAR TEMPLE
NANGAVARAM



Achalesvarar (or Ara-neri-Isvaram) temple : Plan

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Pl. 1 Sri vimana

ALLUR
Pasupatisvaram

Pl. 2 Chandesvarar

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Pl. 3 Dakshinamurti

Pl. 4 Astradevar

TIRUVISALUR
Sivayoganathasvamin temple

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Pl. 5 Nataraja & Consort

KUMARAVAYALUR
Agnisvarar temple

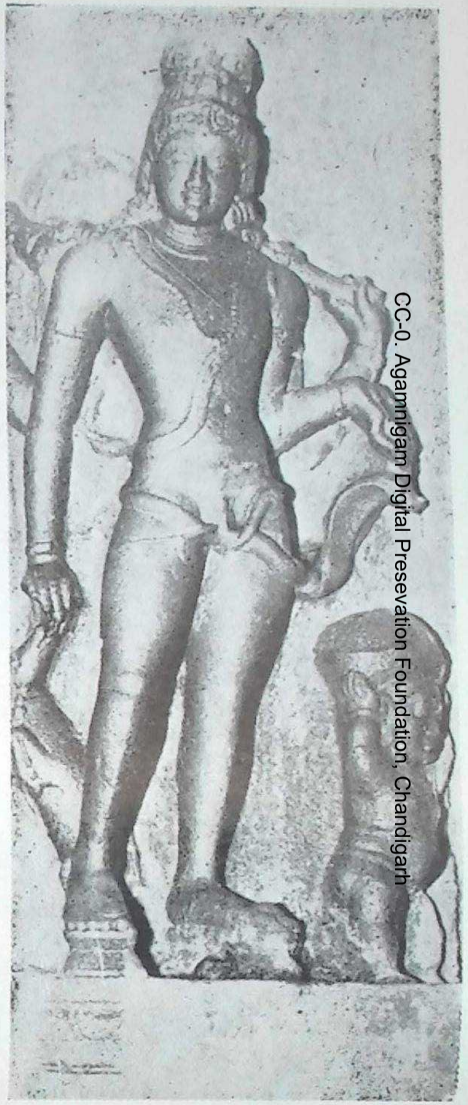
ANDANALLUR
Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple

Pl. 6 Bhairavar

Pl. 7 Brahma

Pl. 8 Durga

Pl. 9 Ardhanarisvarar



Pl. 10 Bhikshatanar

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Pl. 11 Sri vimana

KODUMBALUR
Muchukundesvarar temple

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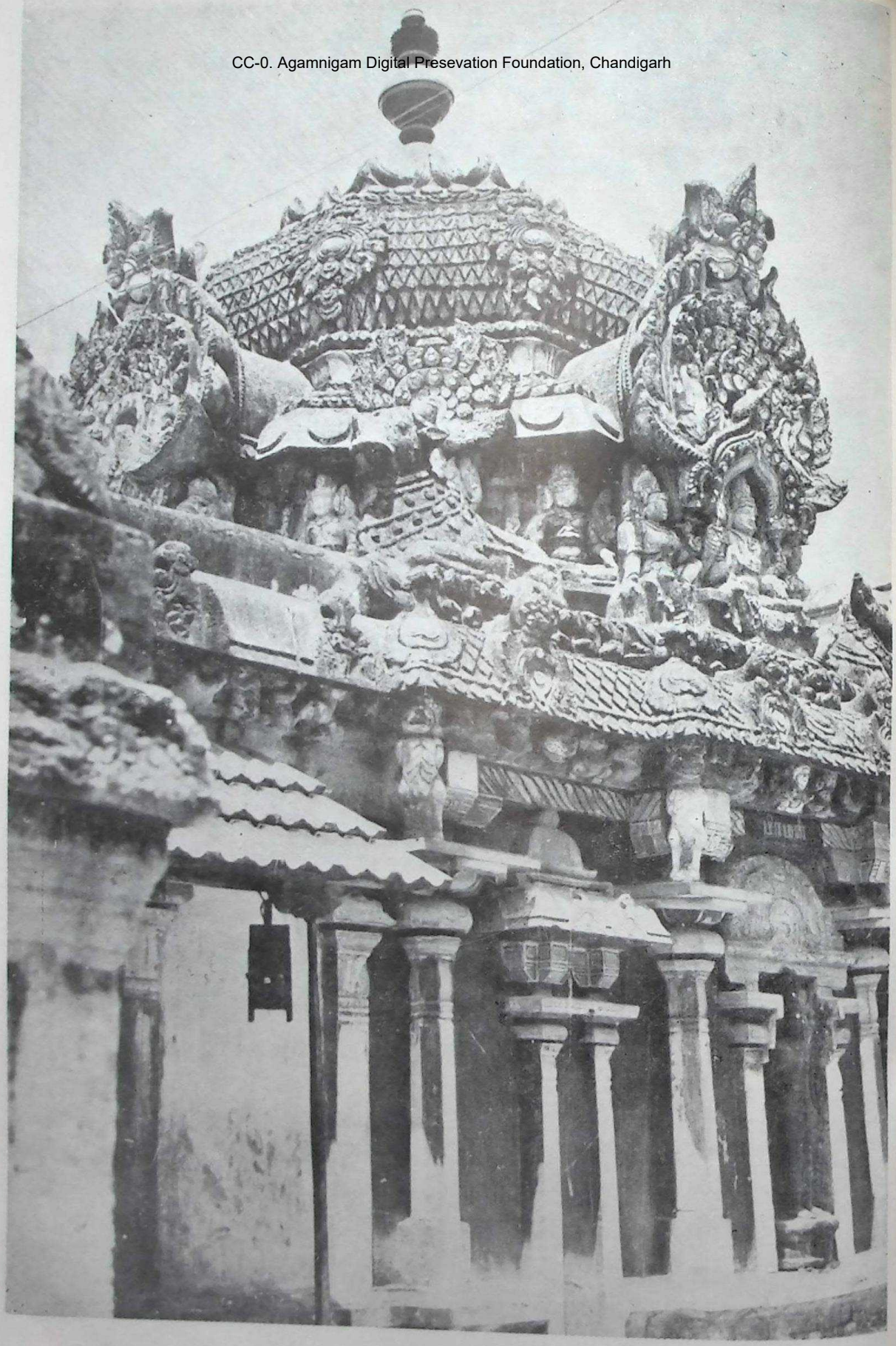

Pl. 12 Sri vimana

KILAPPALUVUR
Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple

KILAPPALUVUR
Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar
temple

Pl. 13 Ganapati

Pl. 14 Lingodbhavar

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Pl. 15 Brahma

KILAPPALUVUR
Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple

Pl. 16 Durga

KILAPPALUVUR
←Sri Pasupatisvaram

Pl. 17 Dvarapala

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Pl. 18 Tripurantakar & Tripurasundari

KILAPPALUVAR
Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar temple

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Pl. 19 Sri vimana

NANGAVARAM
Sundaresvarar temple

Pl. 20 Sub-shrine of Ganapati

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Pl. 21 Ganapati

NANGAVARAM
Sundaresvarar temple

Pl. 22 Vishnu

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Pl. 23 Mahesvari

Pl. 24 Vaishnavi

NANGAVARAM
Sundaresvarar temple

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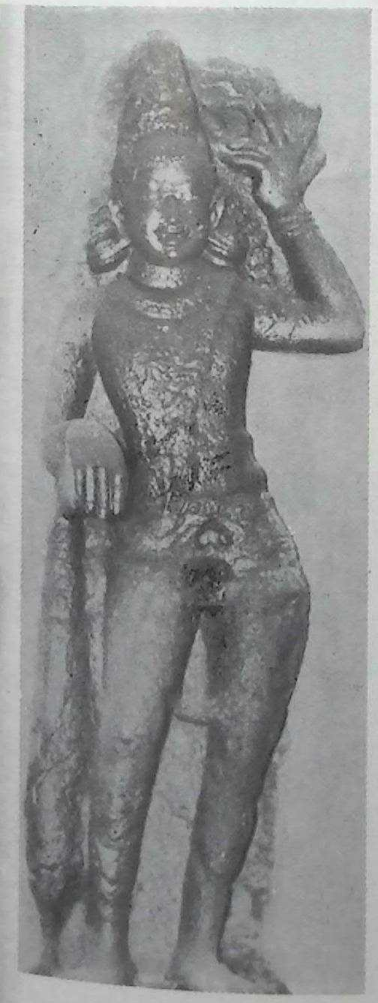
NANGAVARAM
Sundaresvarar temple



Pl. 25 Dvarapala

Pl. 26 Dvarapala

Pl. 27 Bhogesvari

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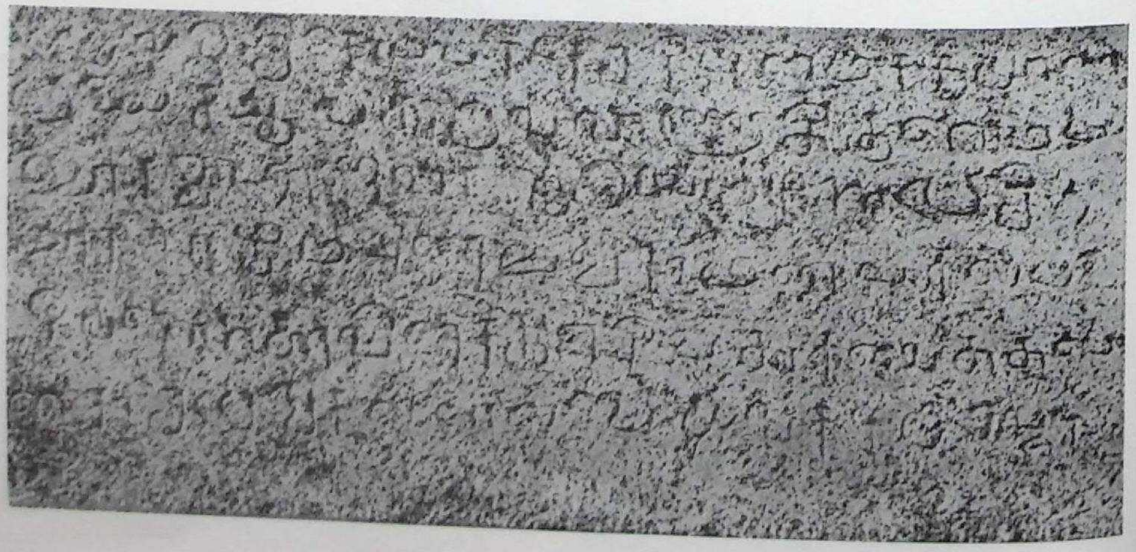
Pl. 28 Sri vimana

SOMUR
Somesvarar temple



Pl. 29 Parantaka I's inscription

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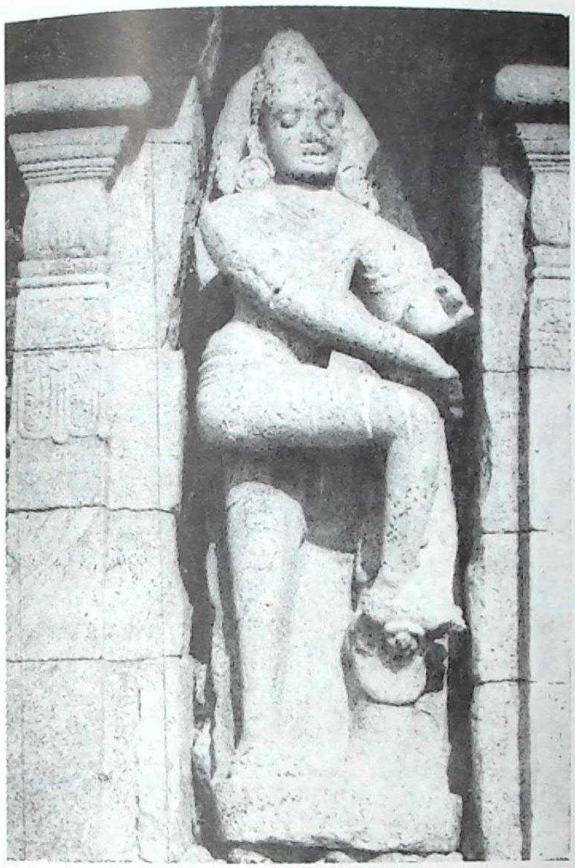

SOMUR
Somesvarar temple

Pl. 30 Dvarapala

Pl. 31 Dvarapala

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 32 Sri vimana

PULLAMANGAI
Brahmapurisvarar temple

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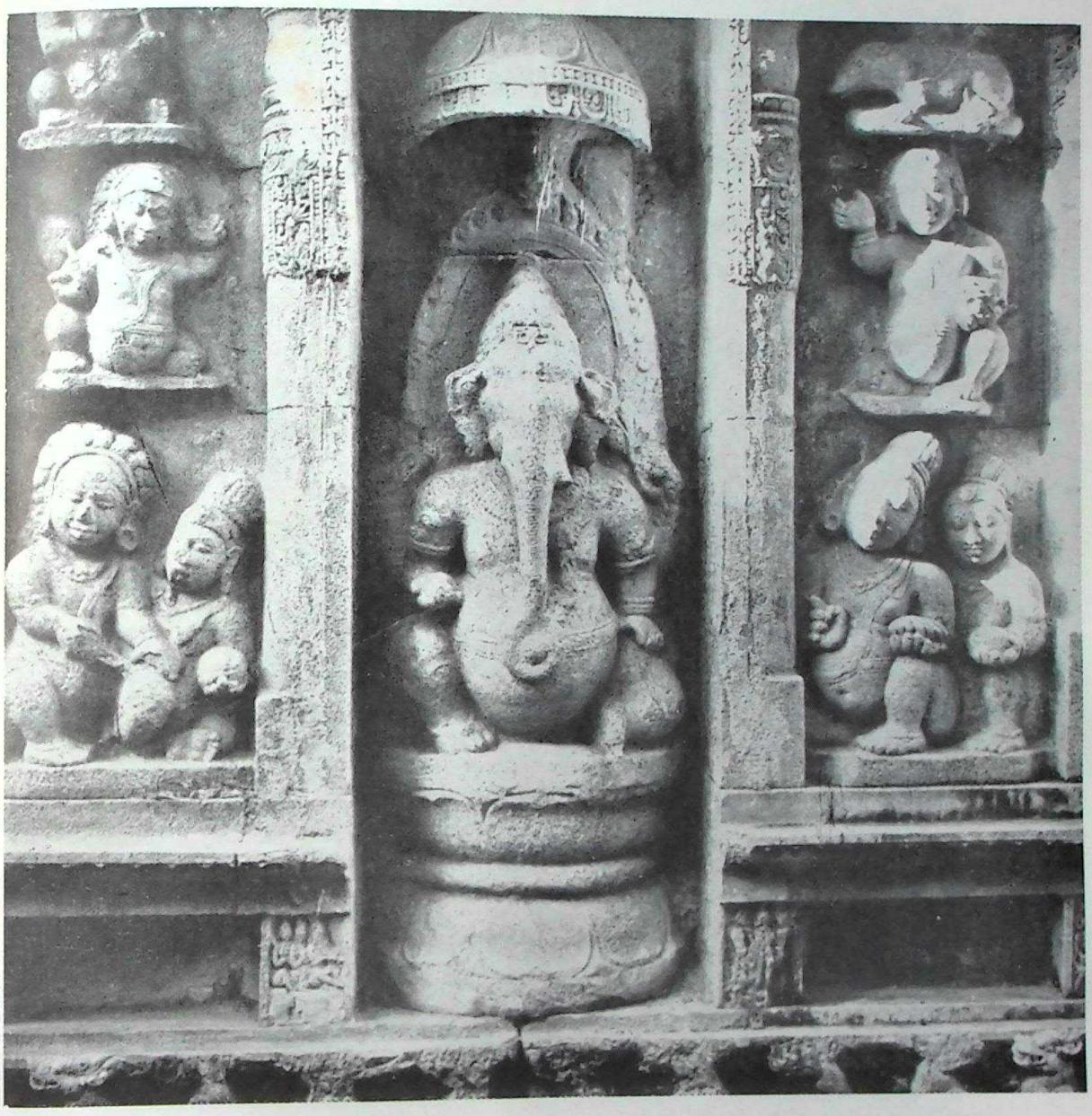
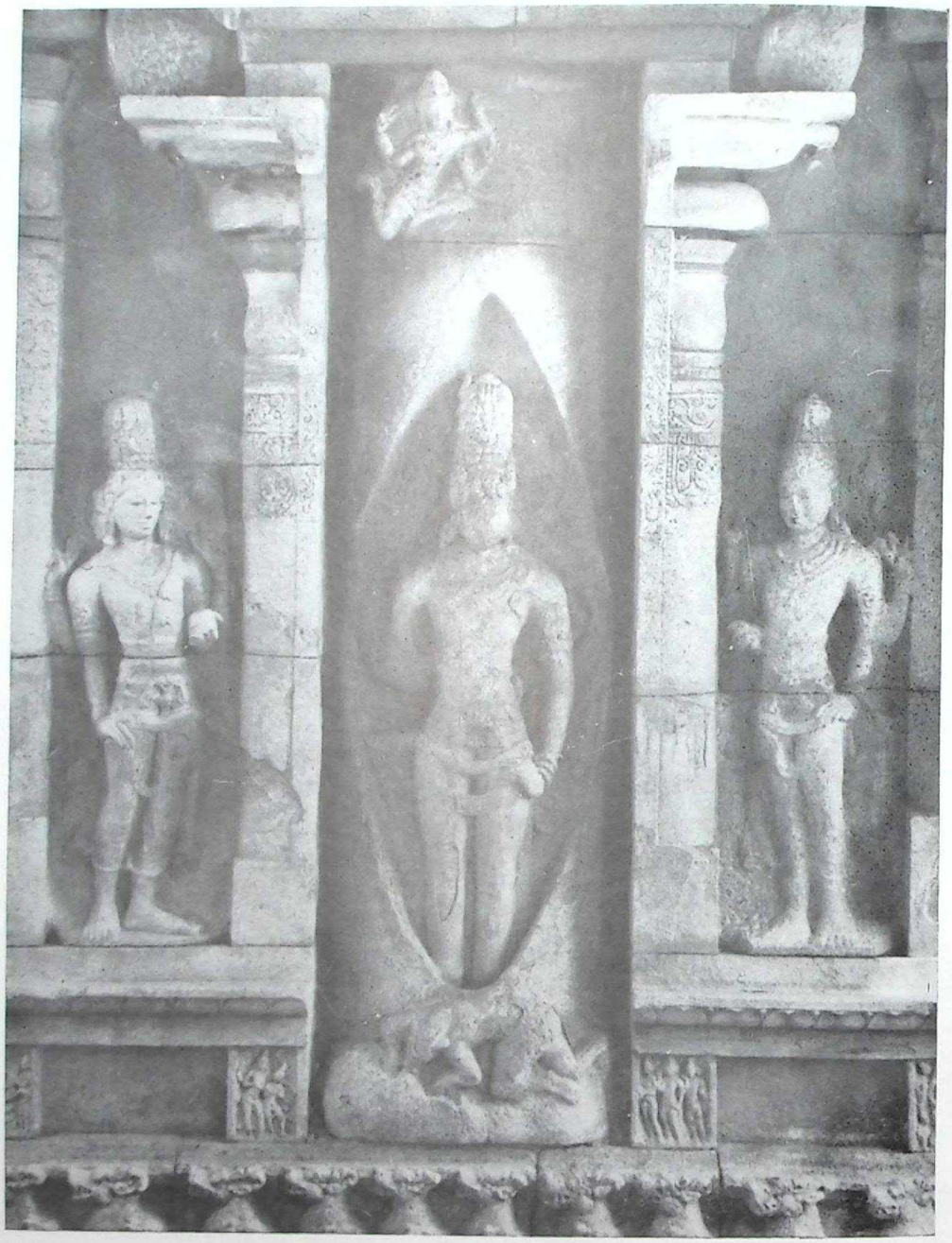


Pl. 33 Ganapati

PULLAMANGAI
Brahmapurisvarar temple

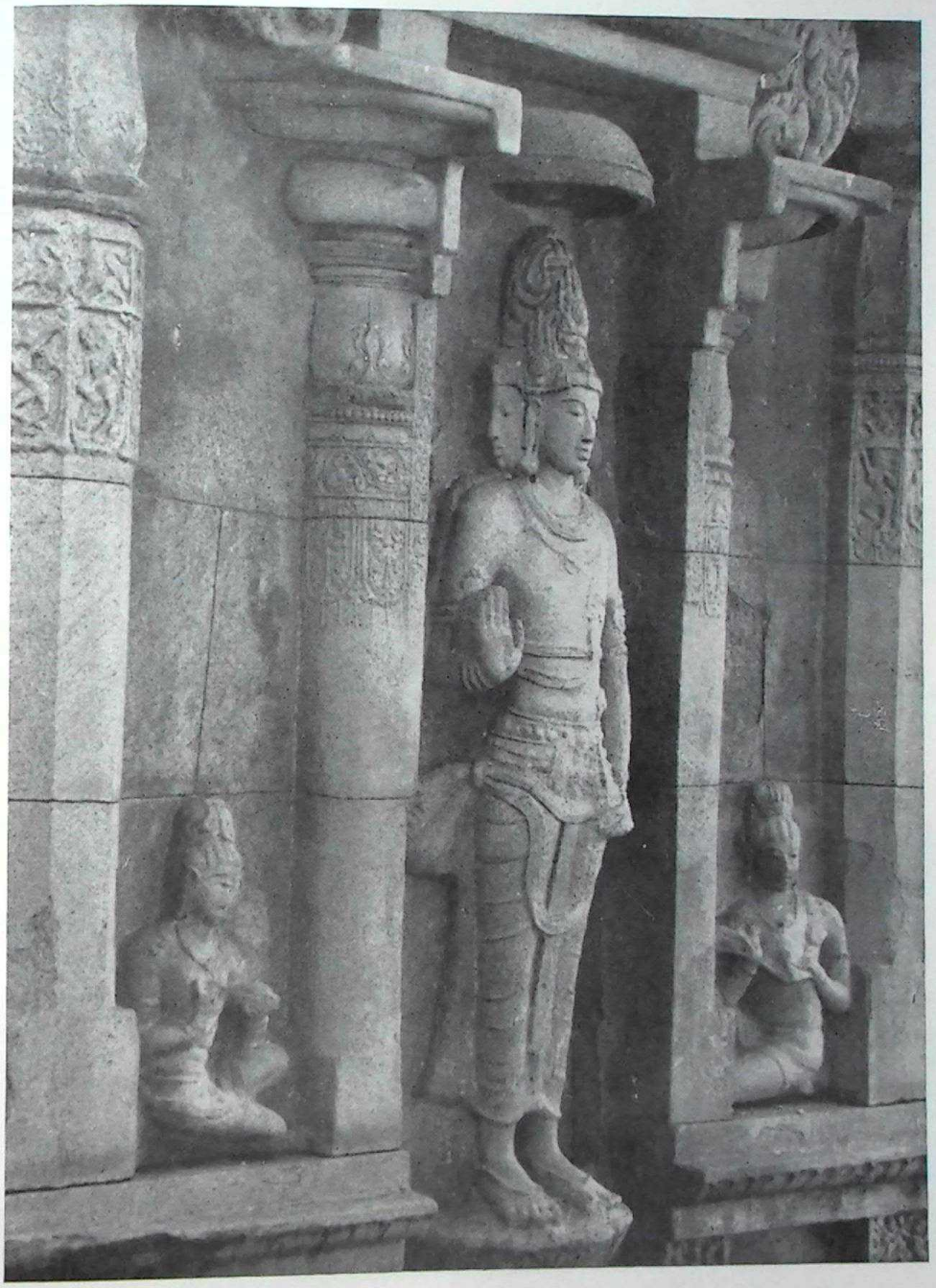
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 34 Lingodbhavar

PULLAMANGAI
Brahmapurisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 35 Brahma

PULLAMANGAI
Brahmapurisvarar temple

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Pl. 36 Hiranyakasipu

Pl. 37 Nataraja

PULLAMANGAI
Brahmapurisvarar temple (Miniature-Sculpture)

Pl. 38 Bhuvaraha

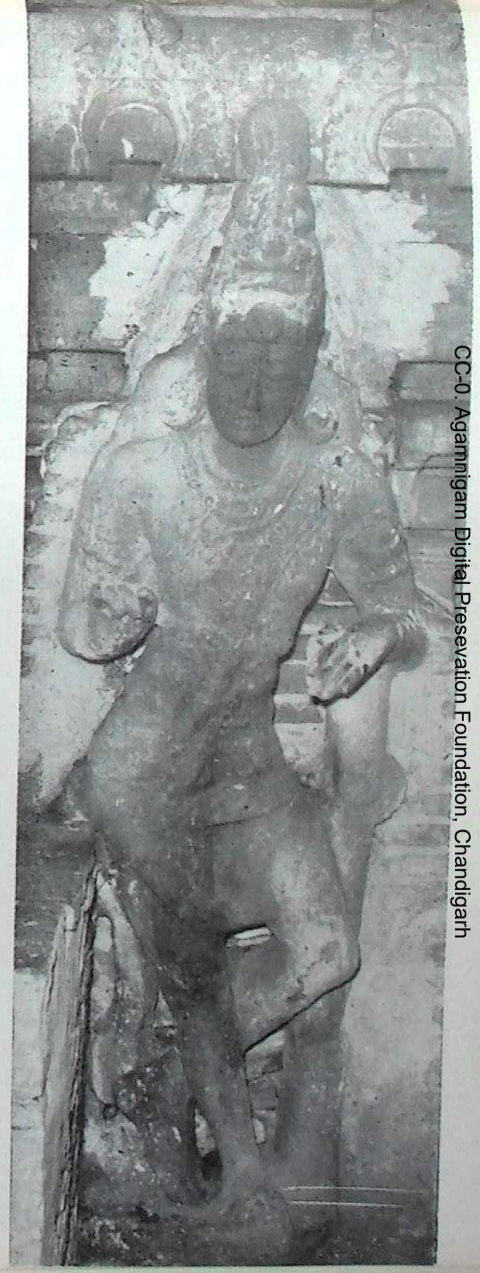
Pl. 39 Kirata & Arjuna

PULLAMANGAI

Brahmapurisvarar temple

Pl. 40 Dvarapala

Pl. 42 Koshta pancharam



Pl. 41 Dvarapala

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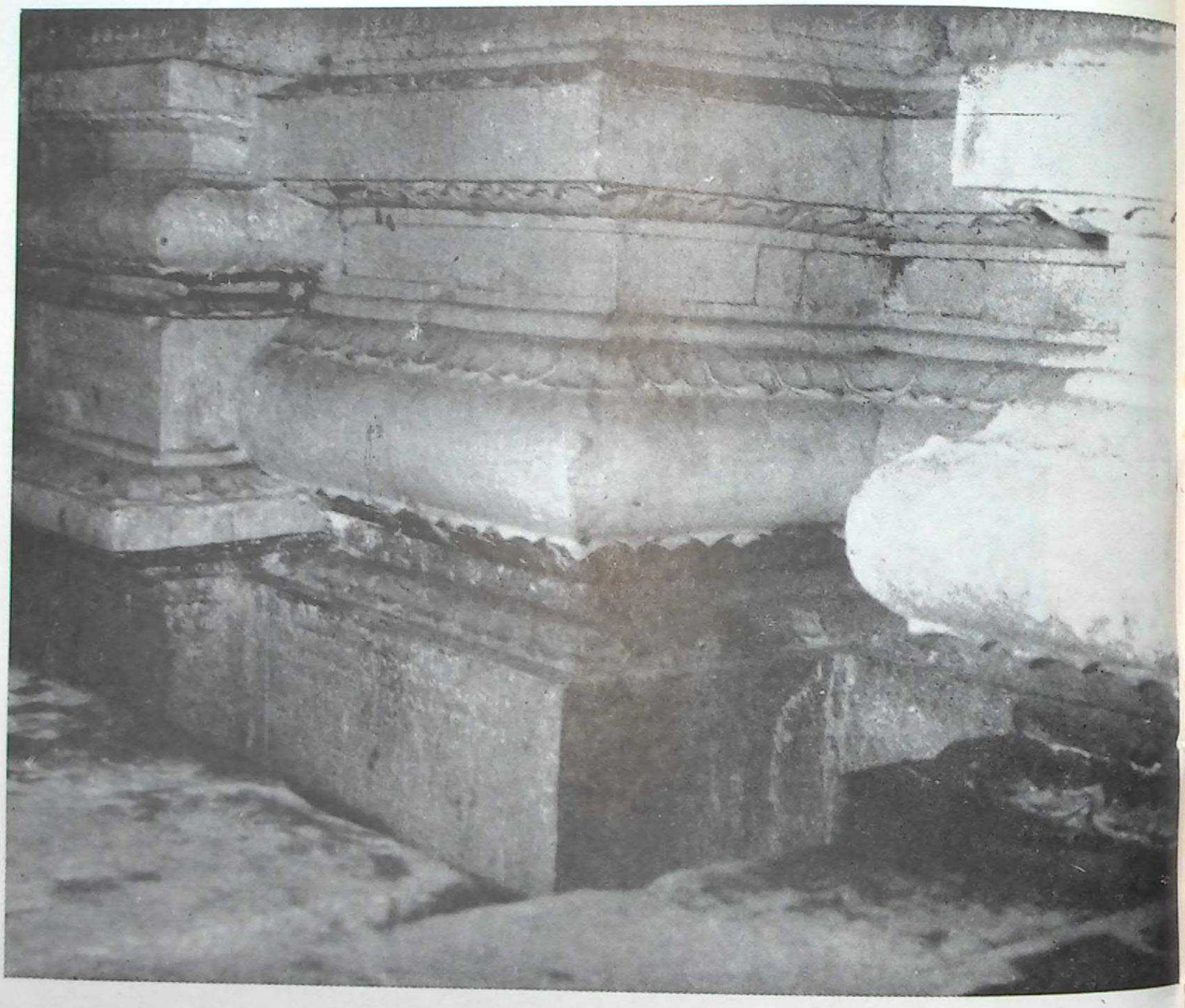

Pl. 43 Adhishthana

TIRUVADUTURAI
Masilamanisvarar temple (basement mouldings)

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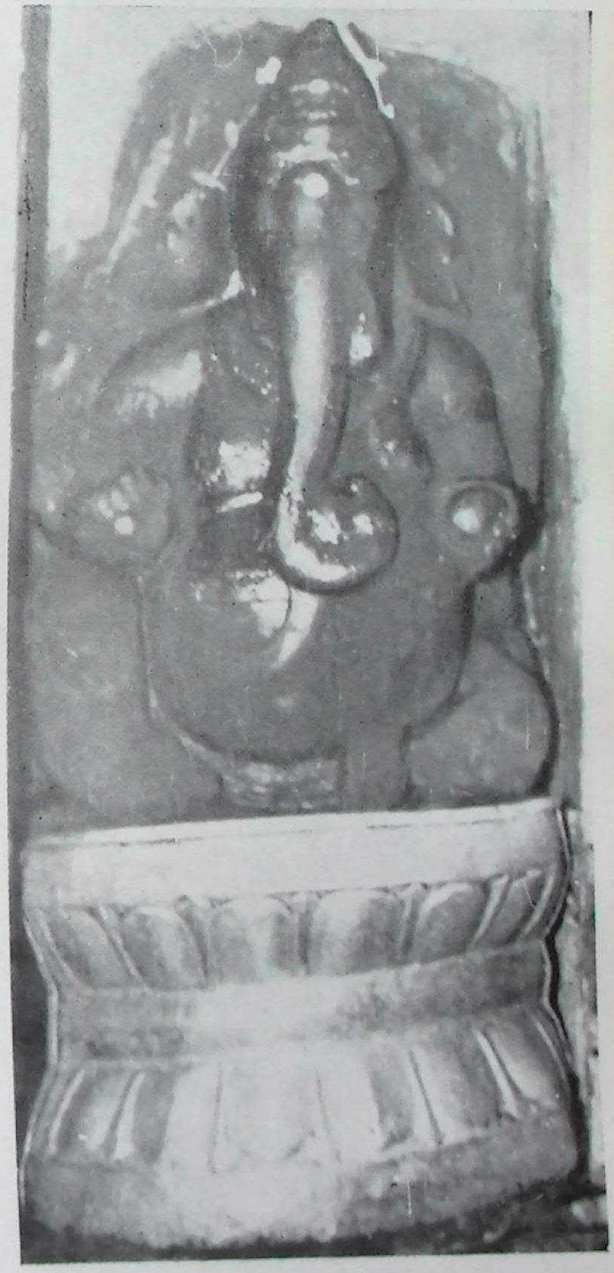
Pl. 44 Agastyar

Pl. 45 Ganapati



TIRUVADUTURAI
Masilamanisvarar temple

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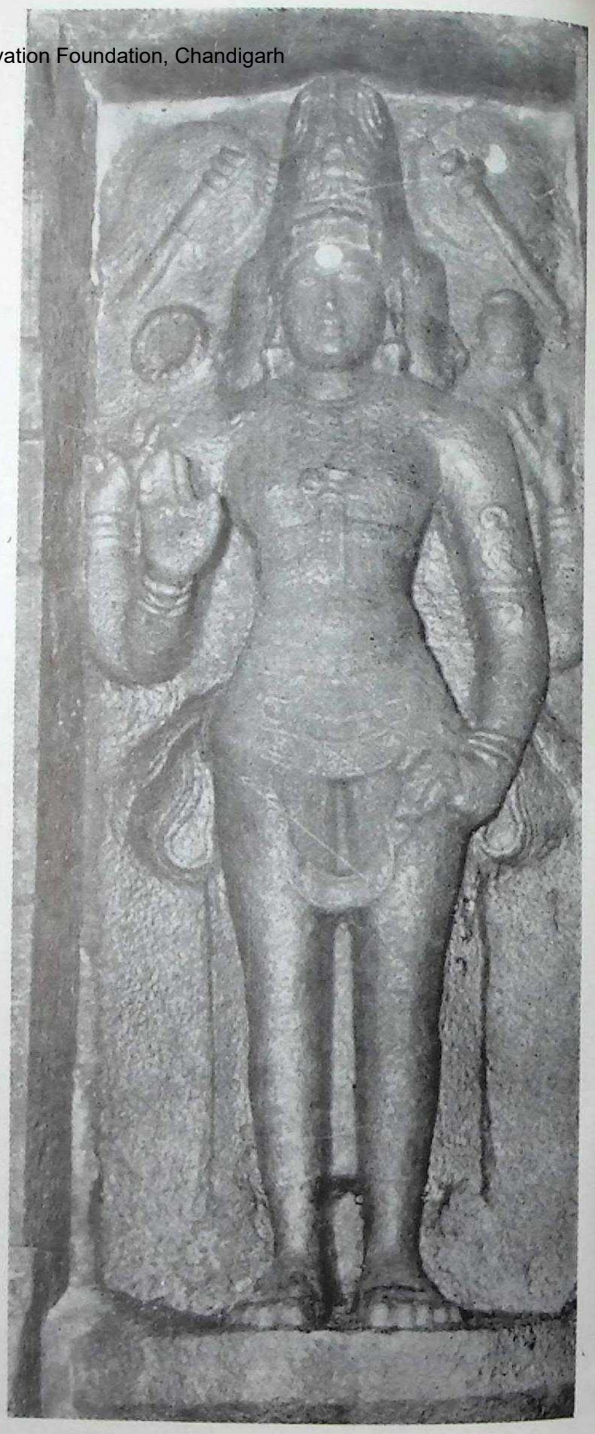
Pl. 46 Ligodbhavar



Pl. 47 Brahma

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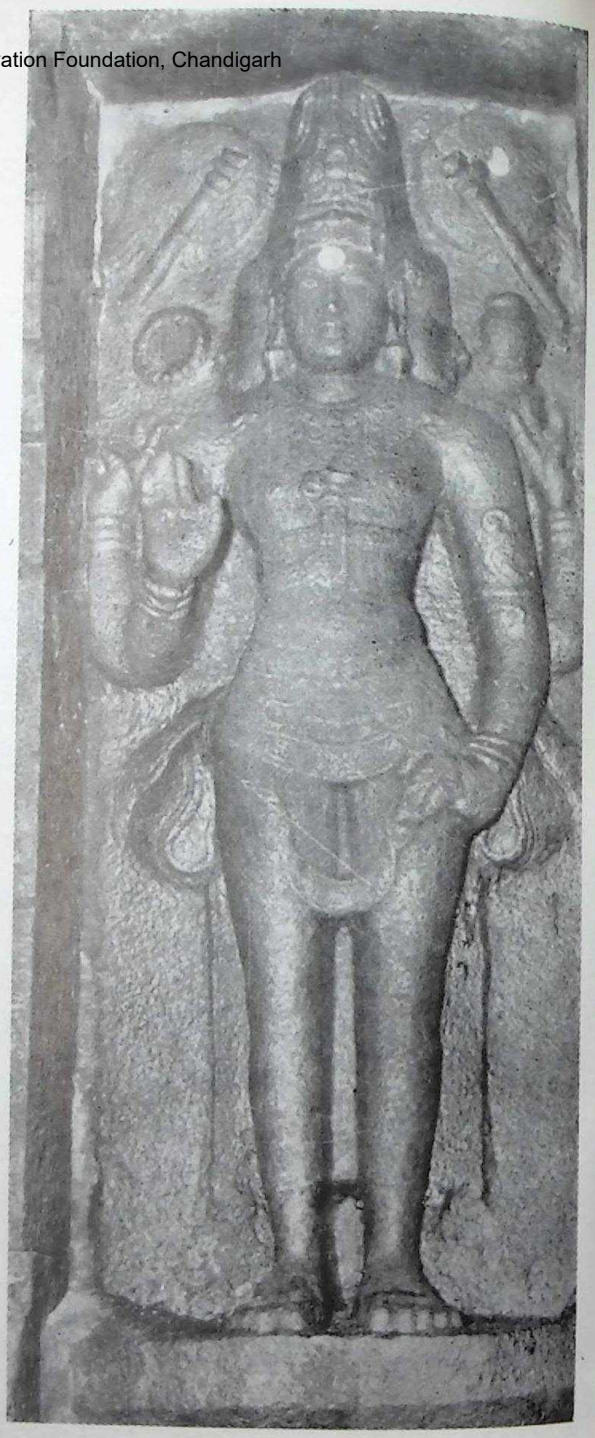
TIRUVADUTURAI
Masilamanisvarar
temple

Pl. 48 Durga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 46 Ligodbhavar



Pl. 47 Brahma

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TIRUVADUTURAI
Masilamanisvarar
temple

Pl. 48 Durga

Pl. 49 Karralip-pichchan, the builder of the temple

TIRUVADUTURAI
(Masilamanisvarar)

Pl. 50 Dvarapala

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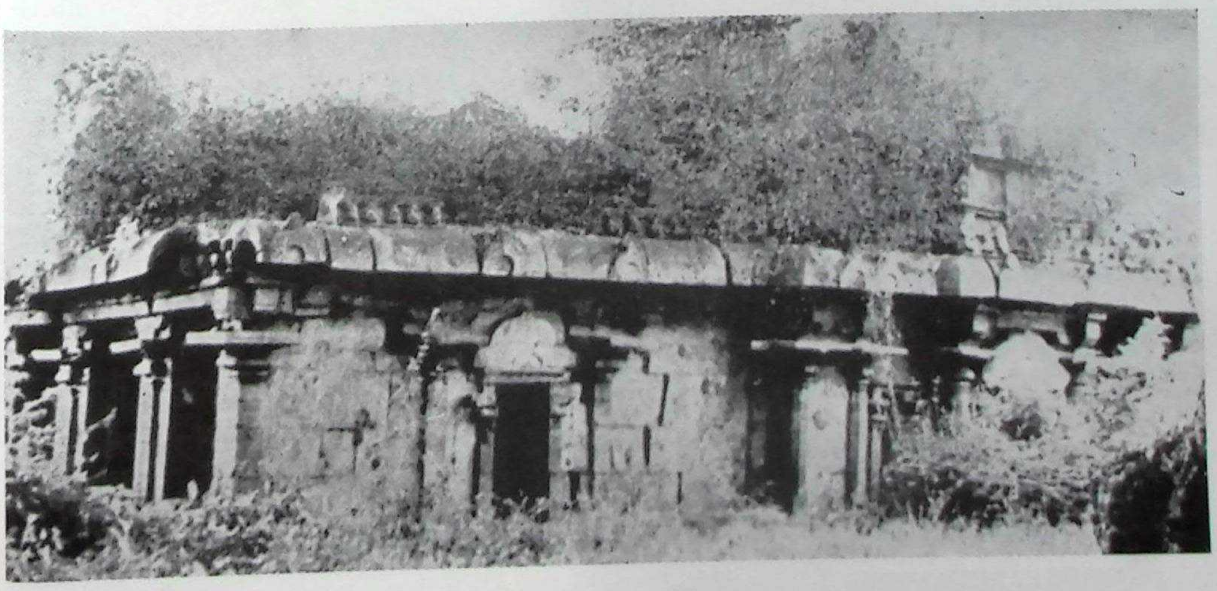
Pl. 51 Sri vimana (side view)

TIRUKKARUHAVUR
Mullaivanesvarar temple



Pl. 52 Sri vimana

TIRUCHCHENNAMPUNDI
Sadaiyar temple

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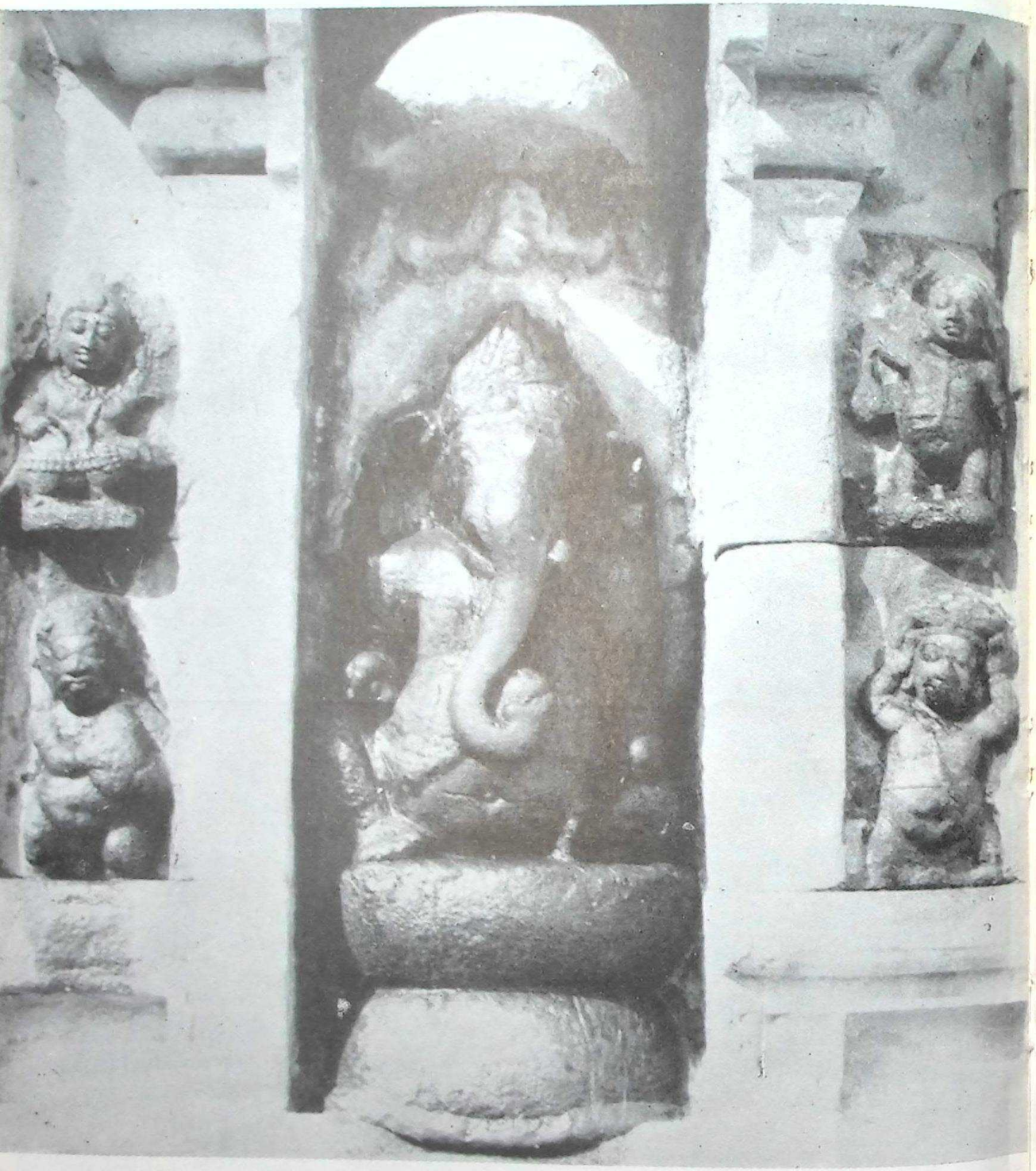

Pl. 53 Ganapati

TIRUKKARUHAVUR
Mullaivanesvarar temple

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Pl. 54 Ardhanarisvarar

Pl. 55 Brahma

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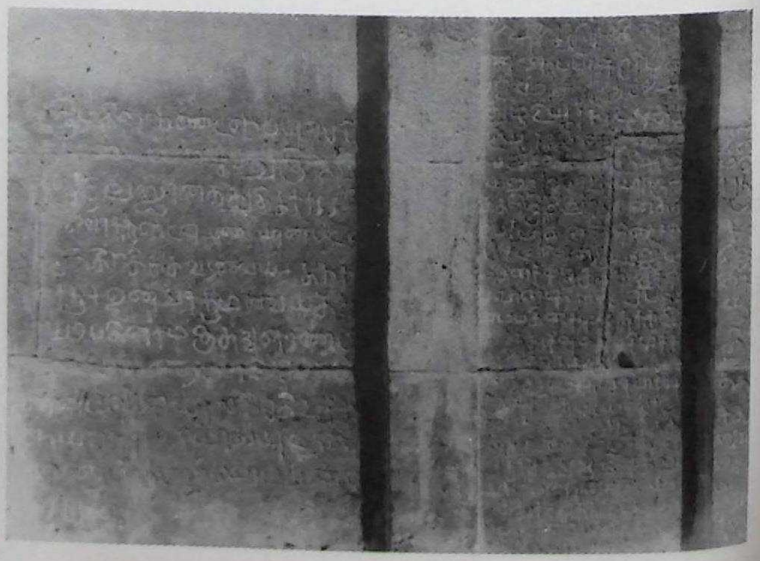
Pl. 56 Sri vimana

GRAMAM
Sivalokanathar
temple



Pl. 57 Parantaka I's inscription

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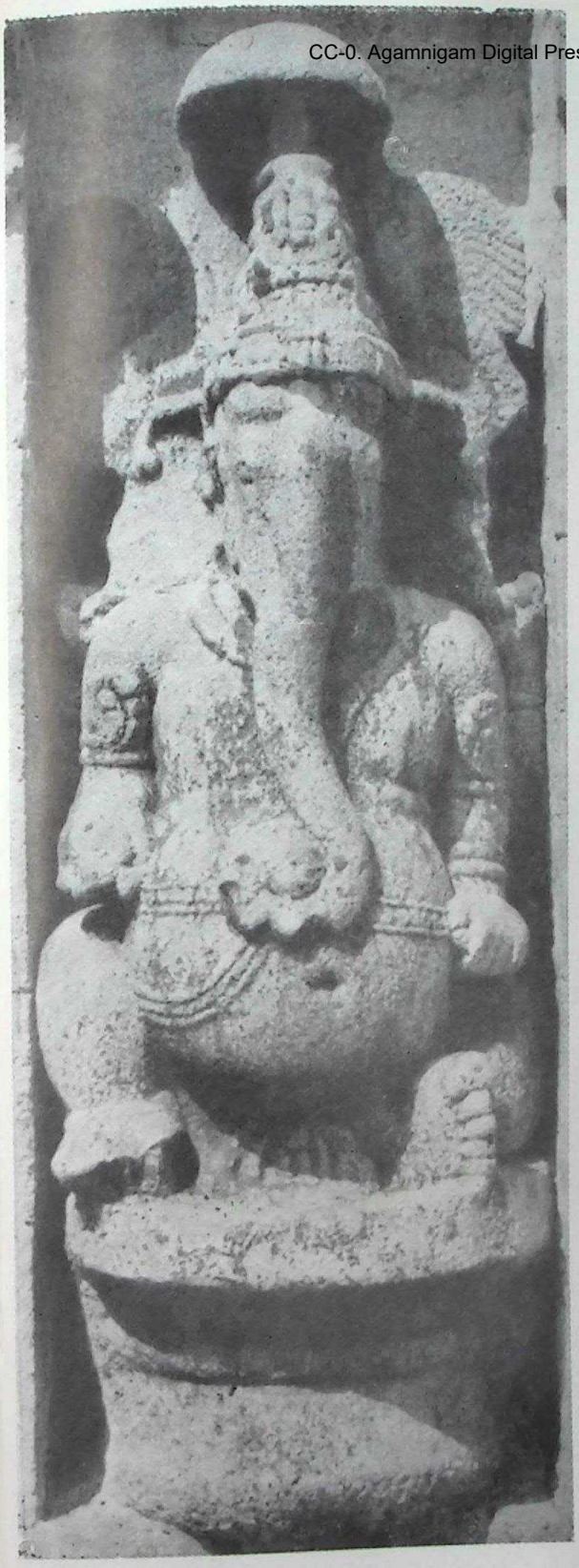

Pl. 58 Ganapati

Pl. 59 Dakshinamurti (original mutilated figure)

Pl. 60 Vishnu

GRAMAM
Sivalokanathar temple

Pl. 61 Brahma

Pl. 62 Durga

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Pl. 63 Bhairavar

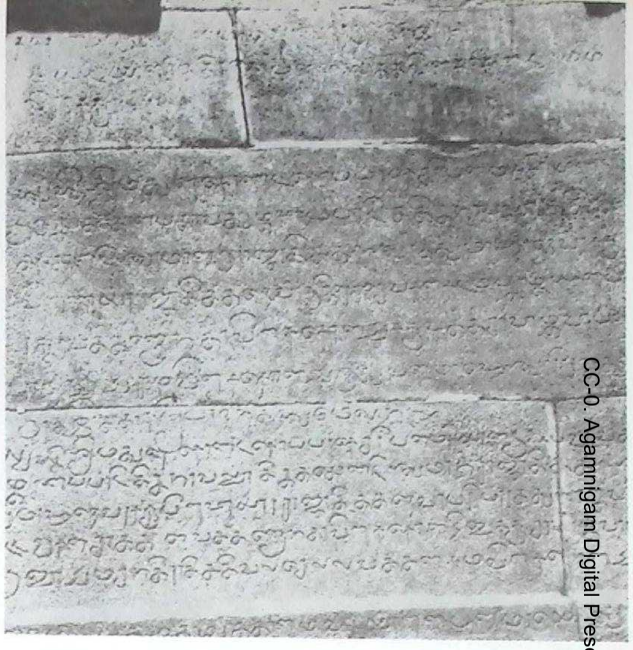
Pl. 64 Durga

GRAMAM
Sivalokanathar
temple

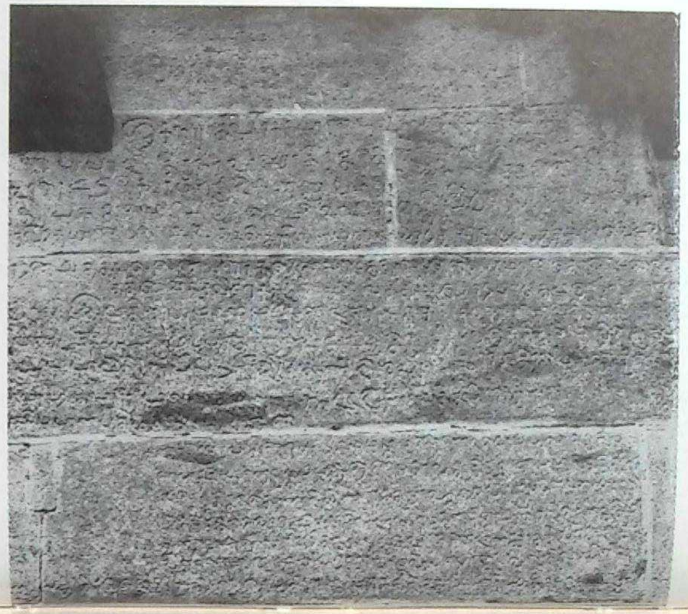
Pl. 65 Surya

TIRUNAMANALLUR, Bhaktajanesvarar temple

Pl. 66 Sri vimana



Pl. 67 Parantaka I's inscription



Pl. 68 Kannaradevar's inscription

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Pl. 69 Rishabhantakar

TIRUNAMANALLUR
Bhaktajanesvarar temple

Pl. 70 Bhikshatanar (bronze)

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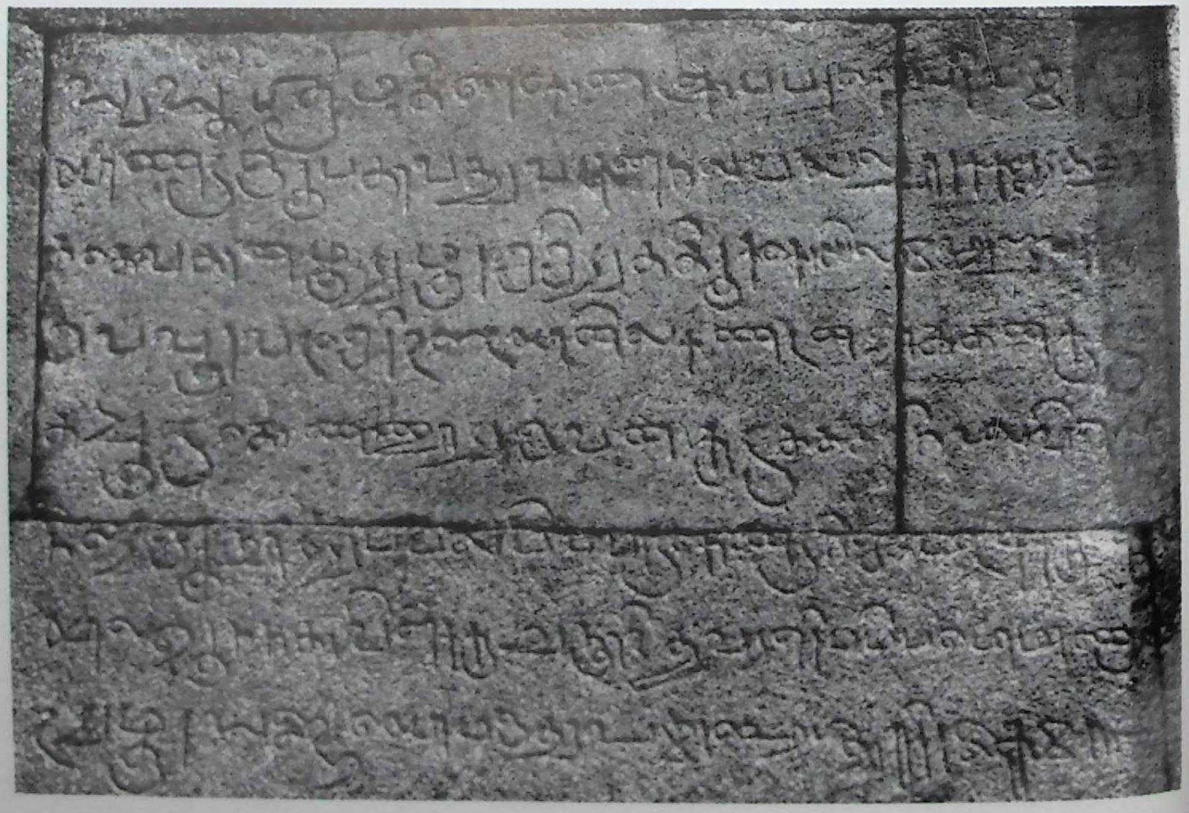
ERUMBUR
Kadambavanesvarar
temple

Pl. 71 Sri vimana



Pl. 72 Parantaka I's inscription (20th year)

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Pl. 73 Dakshinamurti

ERUMBUR
Kadambavanesvarar temple

Pl. 74 Foundation inscription of Parantaka I (28th year)

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ERUMBUR
Kadambavanesvarar
temple

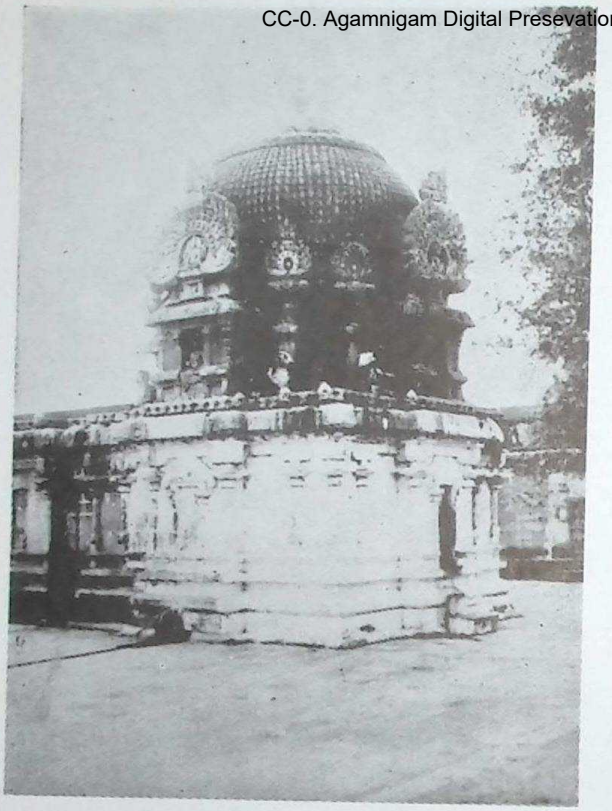
Pl. 75 Arunachalesvarar (Siva as a yogi)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 76 Brahma

ERUMBUR
Kadambavanesvarar temple

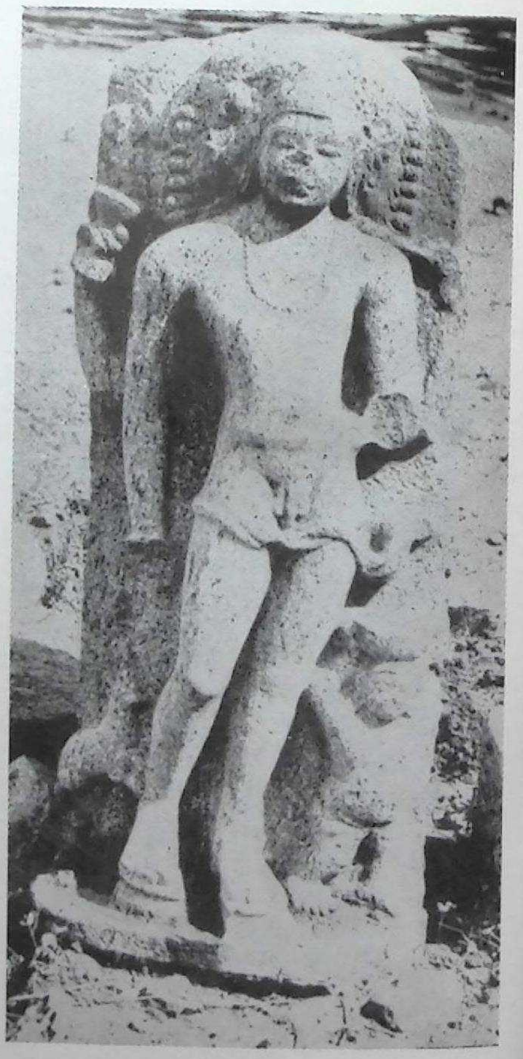
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 77 Sri vimana

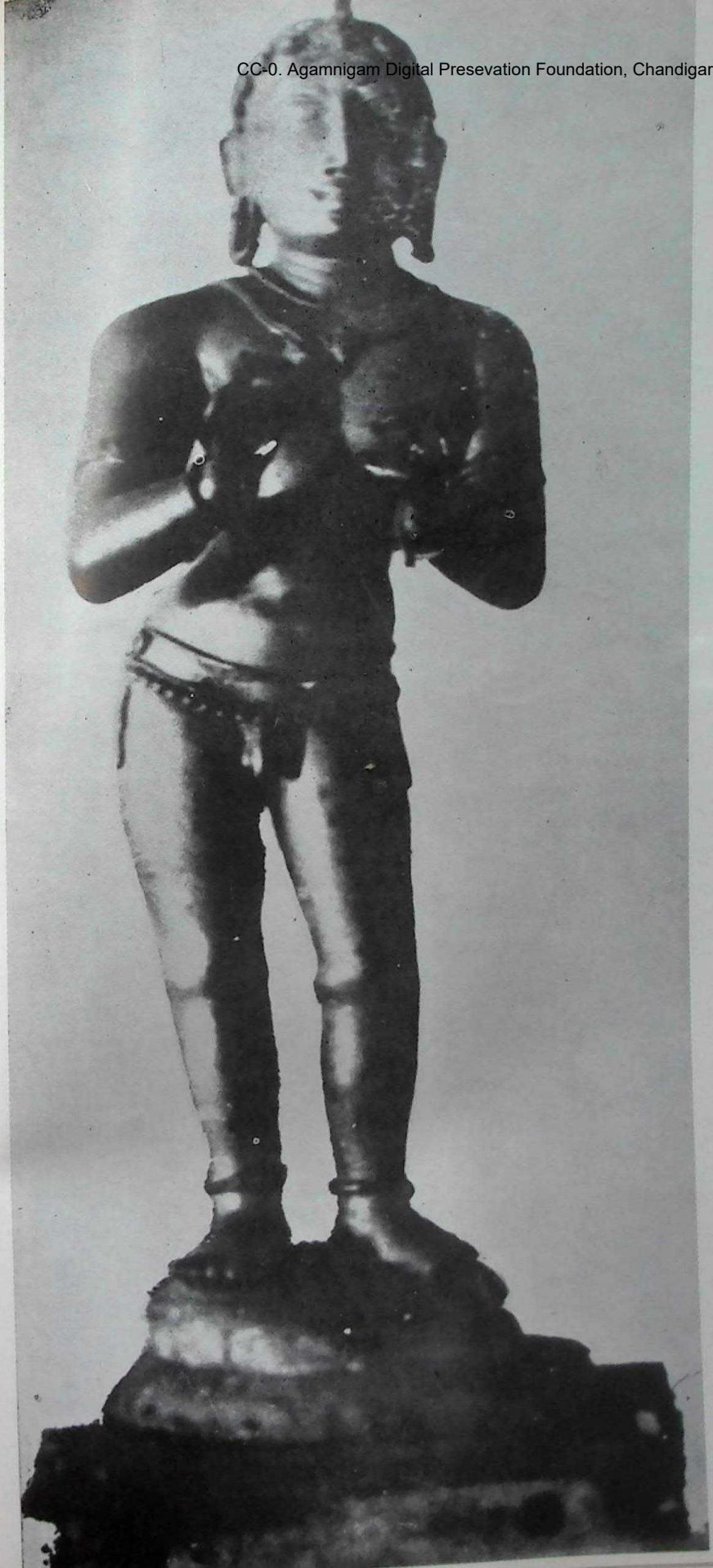
KATTUMANNARGUDI
(Udaiyargudi)
Anantisvarar temple

Pl. 78 Temple (side view)



Pl. 79 Bhikshatanar

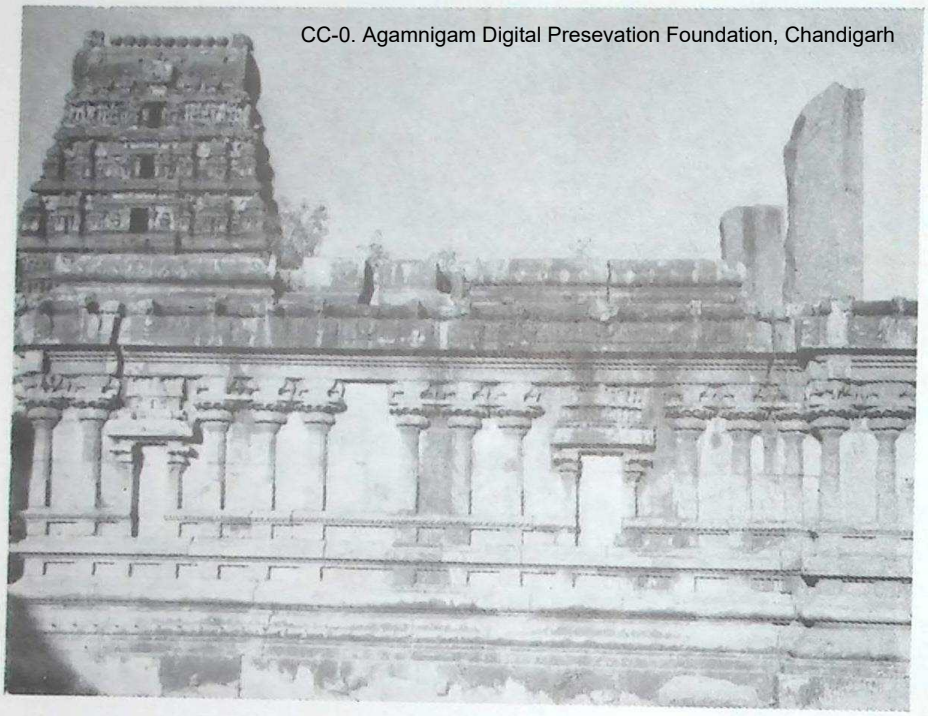
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 80 Sambandar
(bronze)

KATTUMANNARGUDI
(Udaiyargudi)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



TIRUVAMATTUR
Abhiramesvarar temple

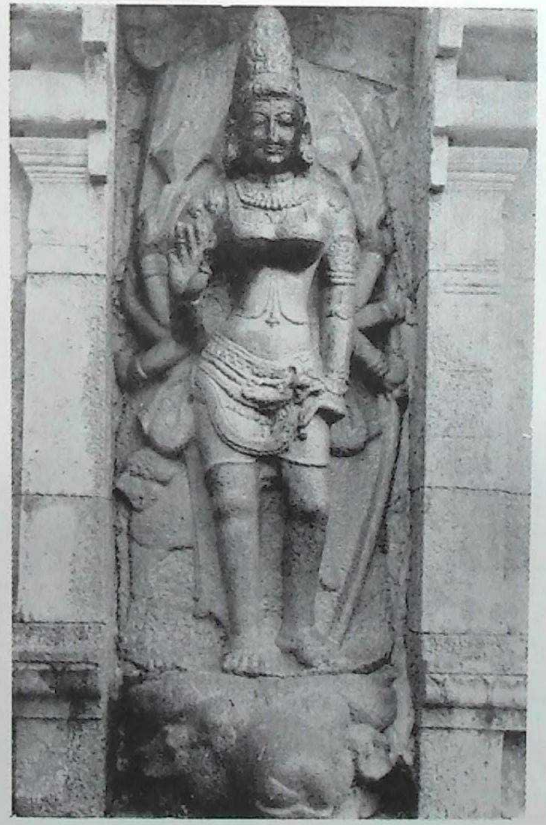
Pl. 81 Temple (side view)

Pl. 82 Brahma

Pl. 83 Bhikshatanar

Pl. 84 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 85 Brahma

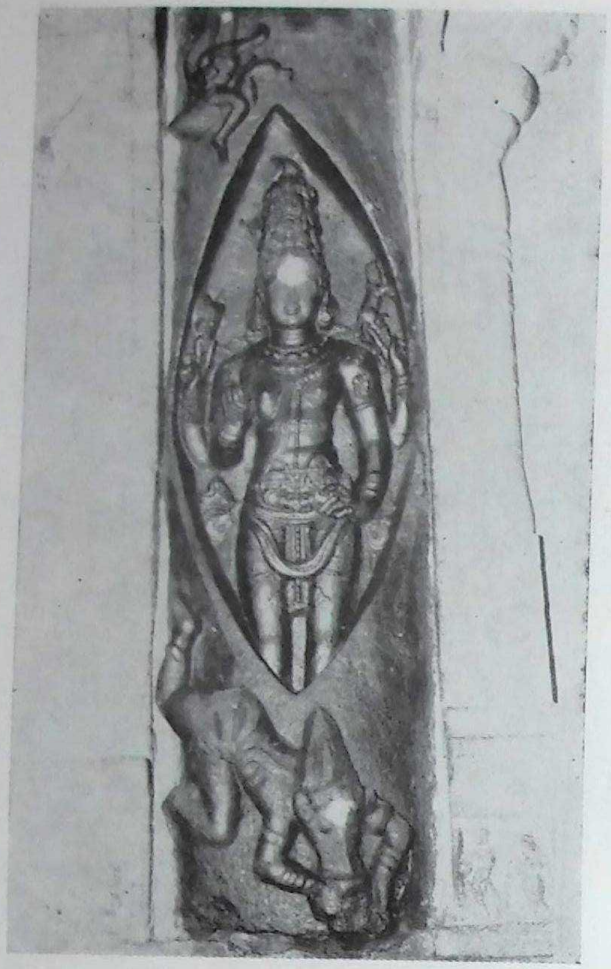


Pl. 86 Durga

Pl. 87 Bhikshatanar

TIRUVAMATTUR, Panchanadisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 88 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 89 Brahma

Pl. 90 Chandesvarar

KILUR
Virattanesvarar temple

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 91 Appar (bronze)

KILUR Virattanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 92 Sri vimana

TONDAMANAD
Adityesvaram temple

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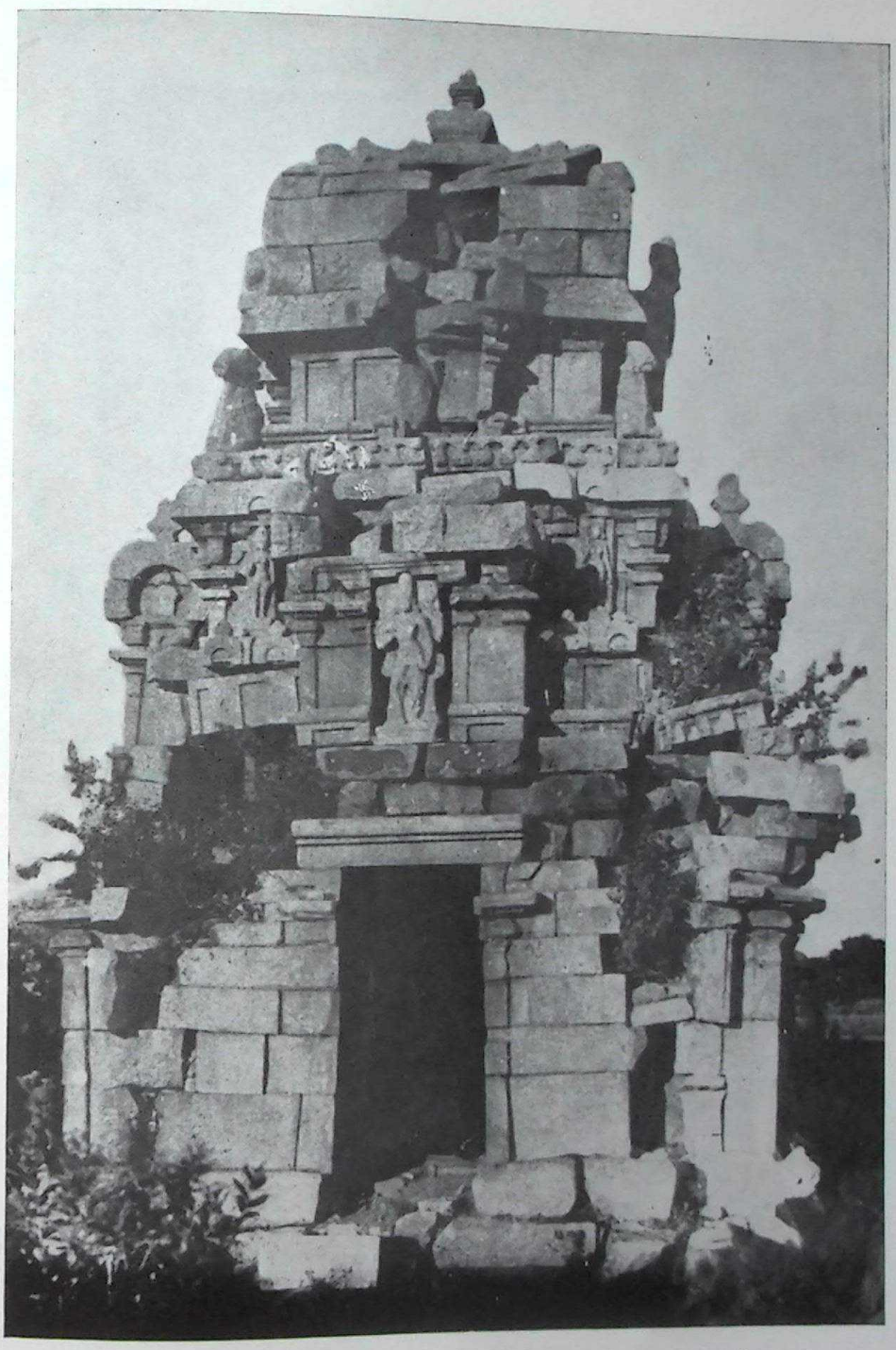
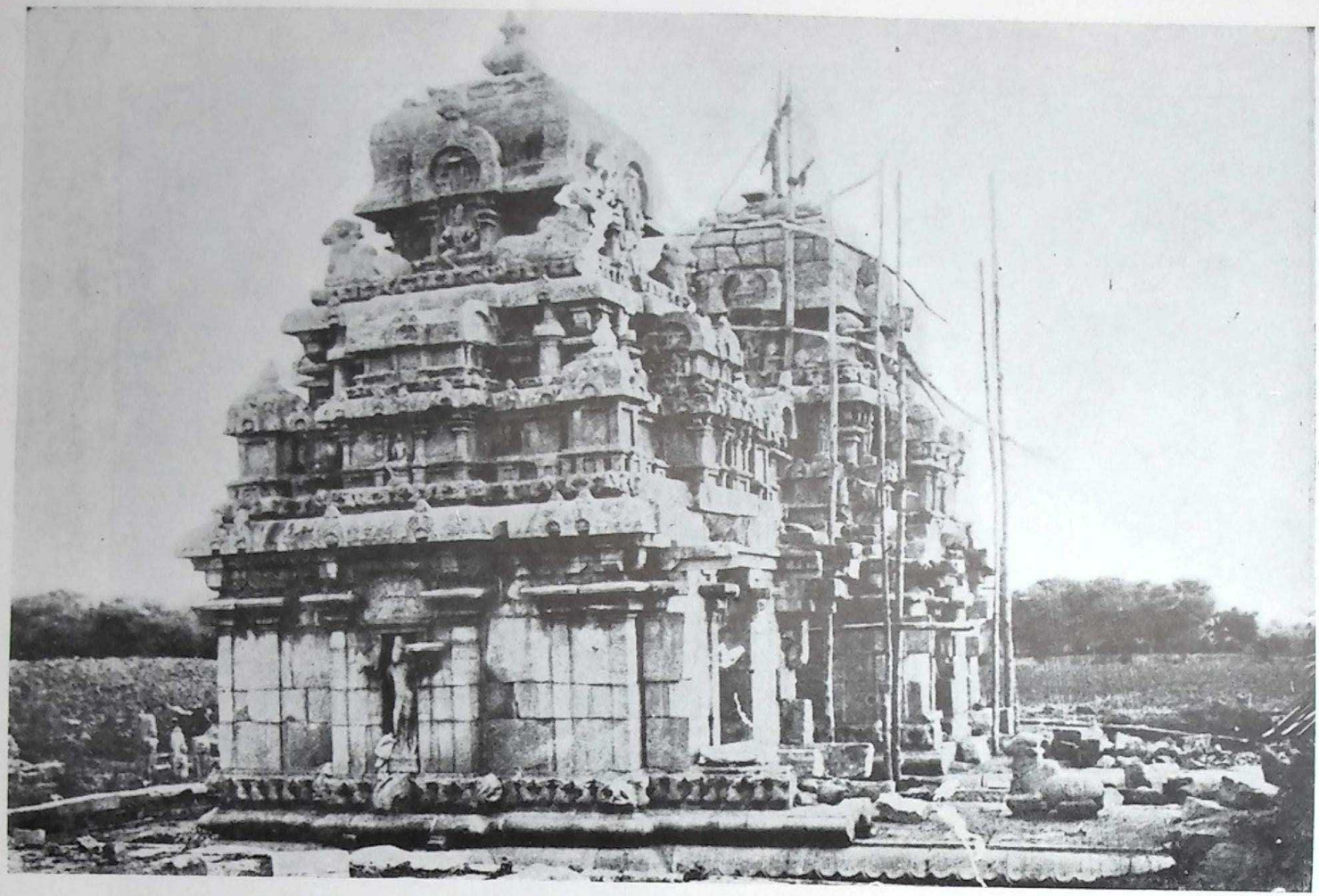


Pl. 93 Sri vimana (one of the two existing shrines before renovation)

KODUMBALUR
Muvarkoyil



Pl, 94 Sri vimana (two shrines after renovation)

KODUMBALUR, Muvarkoyil

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Pl. 95 Balasubrahmanya

Pl. 96 Jyeshtha devi (stray stone)

KODUMBALUR
Muvarkoyil

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 97 Harihara

Pl. 98 Kalarimurti

KODUMBALUR
Muvarkoyil

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Pl. 99 Ardhanarisvarar

KODUMBALUR
Muvarkoyil

Pl. 100 Vinadhara Dakshinamurti

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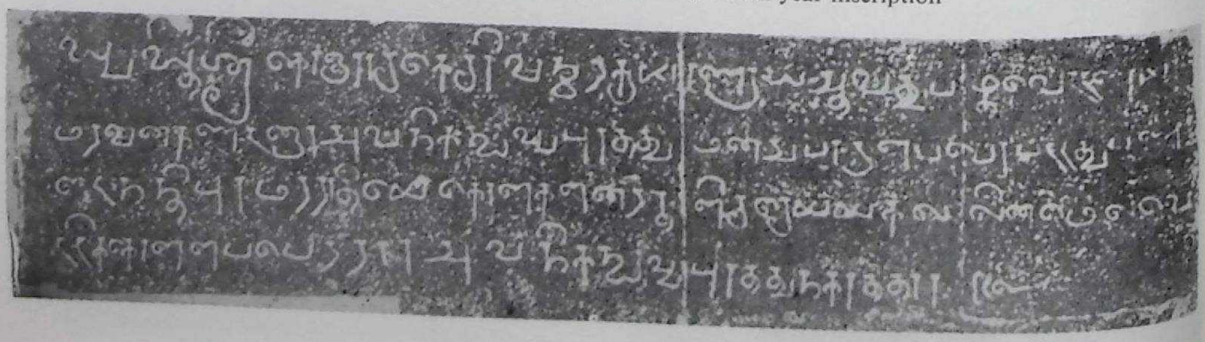
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 101 Tripurantaka

KODUMBALUR

Pl. 102 Tripurasundari

Pl. 103 KILAIYUR, Sundara Chola's 10th year inscription



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Pl. 104 Sri vimana

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram

Pl. 105 Agastyar

Pl. 106 Ganapati

Pl. 107 Dakshinamurti

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Pl. 108 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 109 Brahma

Pl. 110 Durga

KAMARASAVALLI, Karkotakesvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

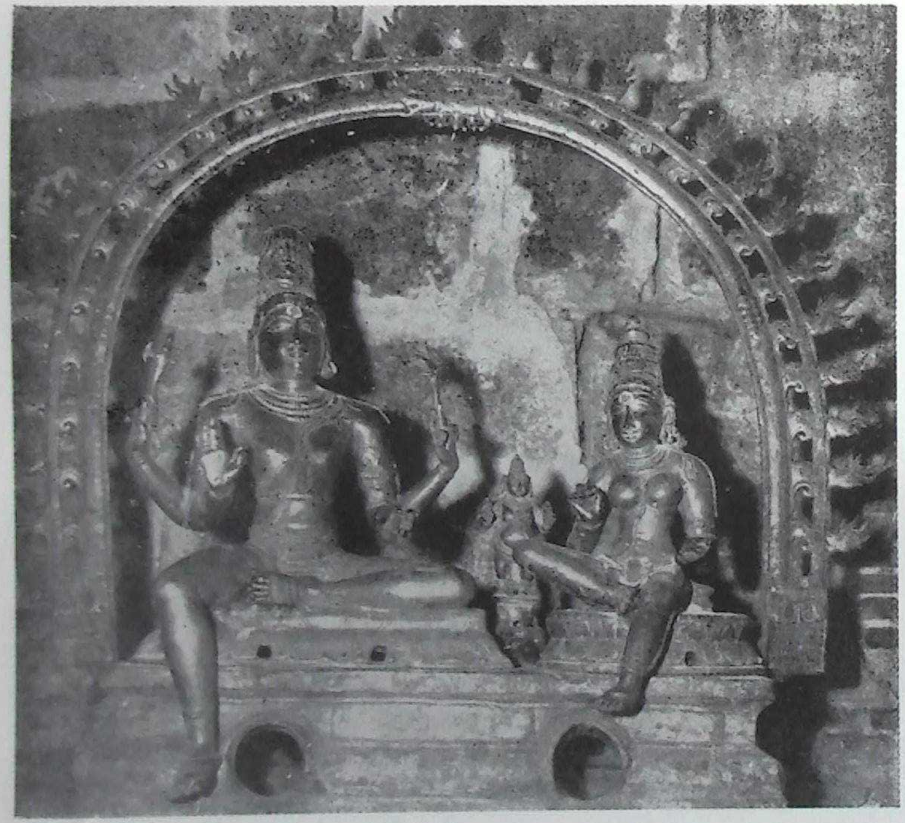
KAMARASAVALLI, Karkotakesvaram

Pl. 111 Bhikshatanar

Pl. 112 Kankalamurti

Pl. 113 Kalarimurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 114 Somaskanda

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram (bronzes)

Pl. 115 Ganapati

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Pl. 116 Chandrasekharar

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram (bronzes)

Pl. 117 Nataraja

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Pl. 118 Uma (Tani Amman)

KAMARASVALLI
Karkotakesvaram (bronze)

Pl. 119 Sambandar (dancing in joy)

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram (bronzes)

Pl. 120 *Sundaramurti*

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Pl. 121 Rama and Mayaman

Pl. 122 Linga (Chandesvarar & his father)

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram
(panels of miniature-sculptures)

Pl. 123 Nataraja

Pl. 124 Gajasamharamurti

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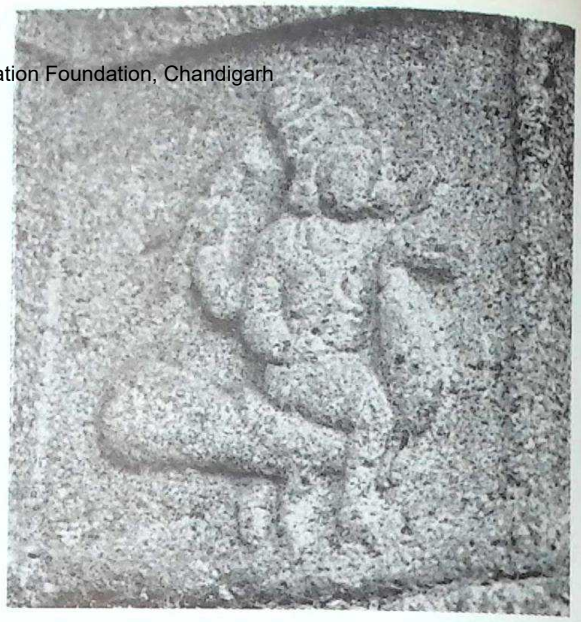
Pl. 125 Kalarimurti and Markandeyar



Pl. 126 Kartikeya

Pl. 127 Chandesvanugrahamurti

KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvaram
(miniature-sculptures)

Pl. 128 Sundaramurti and Paravainachchiyar

VELAICHCHERI, Dandisvarar temple

Pl. 129 Dakshinamurti

Pl. 130 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 131 Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

VELAICHCHERI, Dandisvarar temple

Pl. 132 Durga

Pl. 133 Dvarapala

Pl. 134 Dvarapala

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 135 Agastyar

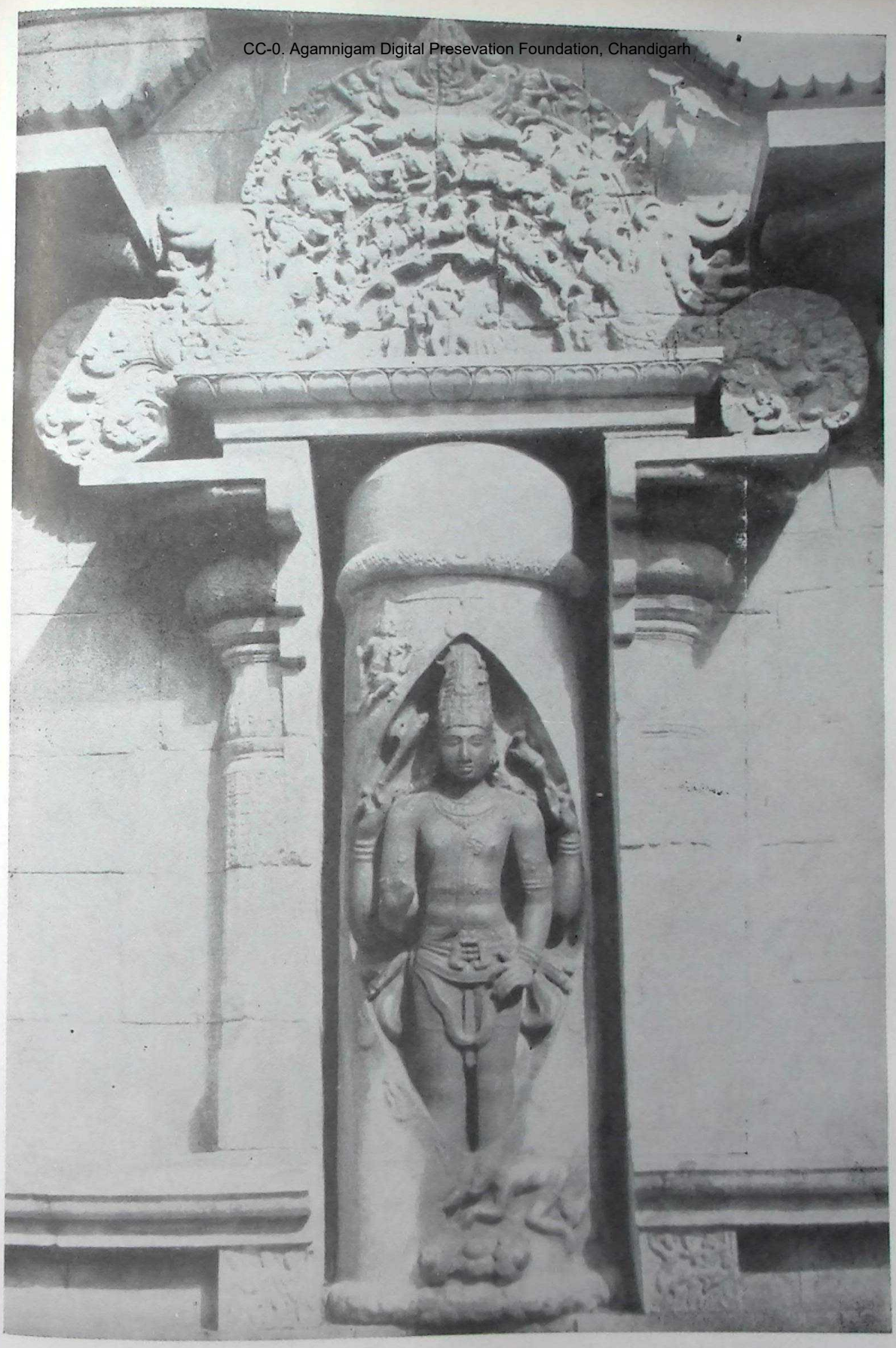
PUNJAI
Naltunai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 136 Ganapati

PUNJAI
Naltunai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 137 Lingodbhavar (with makara-torana)

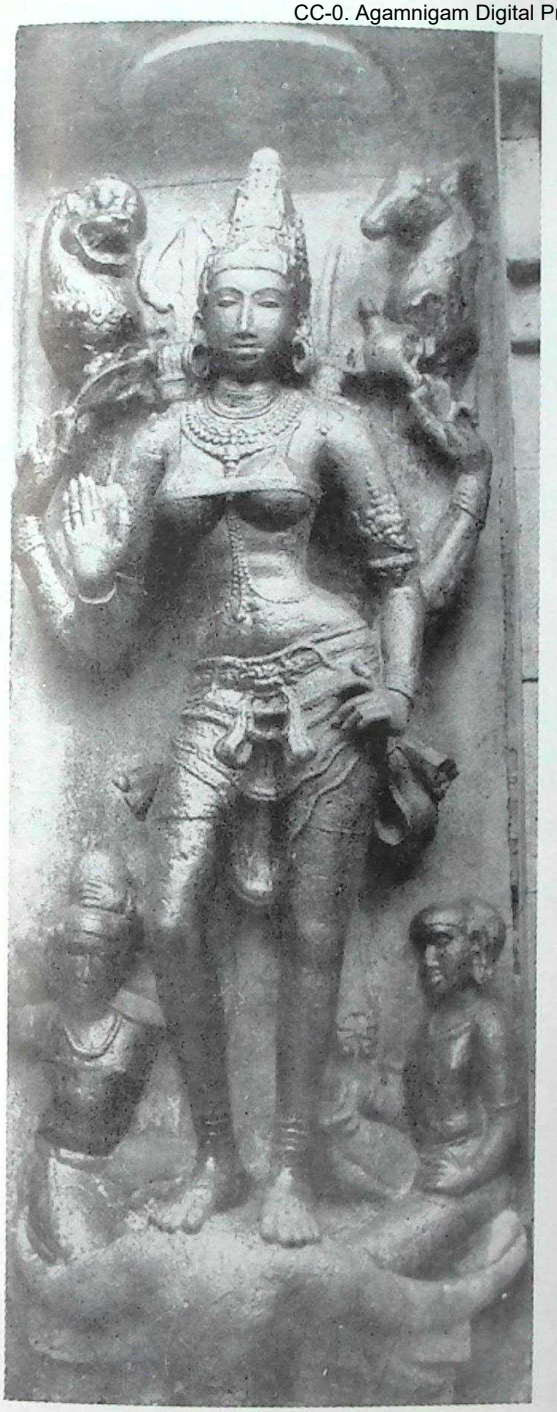
PUNJAI, Naltunai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

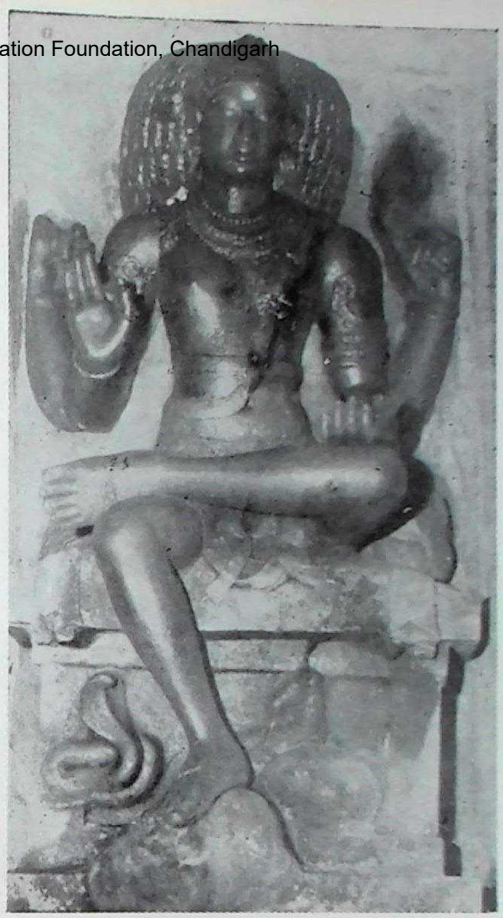
Pl. 138 Brahma

PUNJAI
Naltunai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 139 Durga



Pl. 140 Dakshinamurti

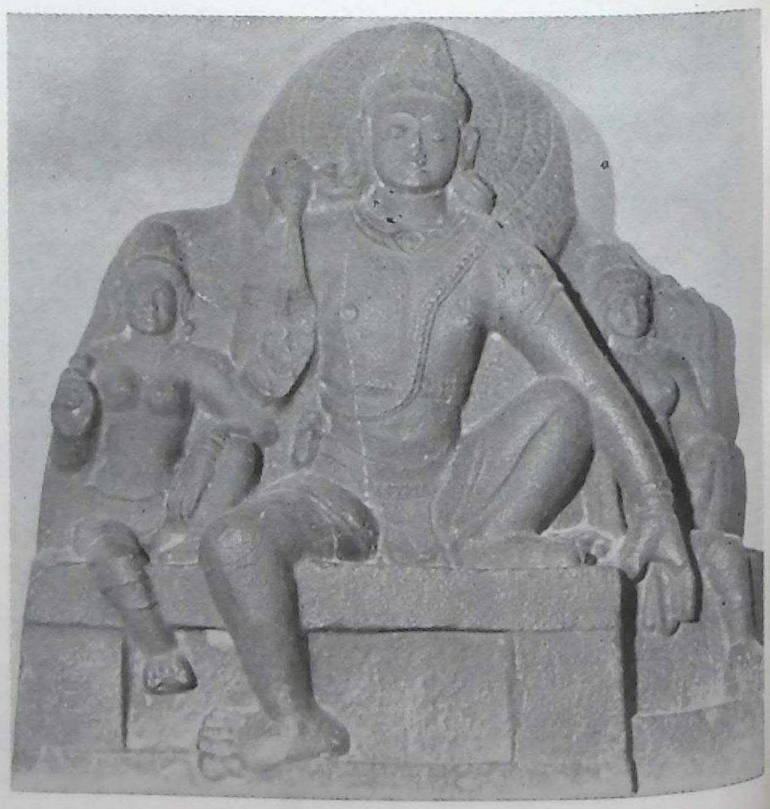
Pl. 141 Nataraja

PUNJAI
Naltunai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 142 Sasta and his consorts (bronze)

Pl. 143 Sasta and his consorts (stone)



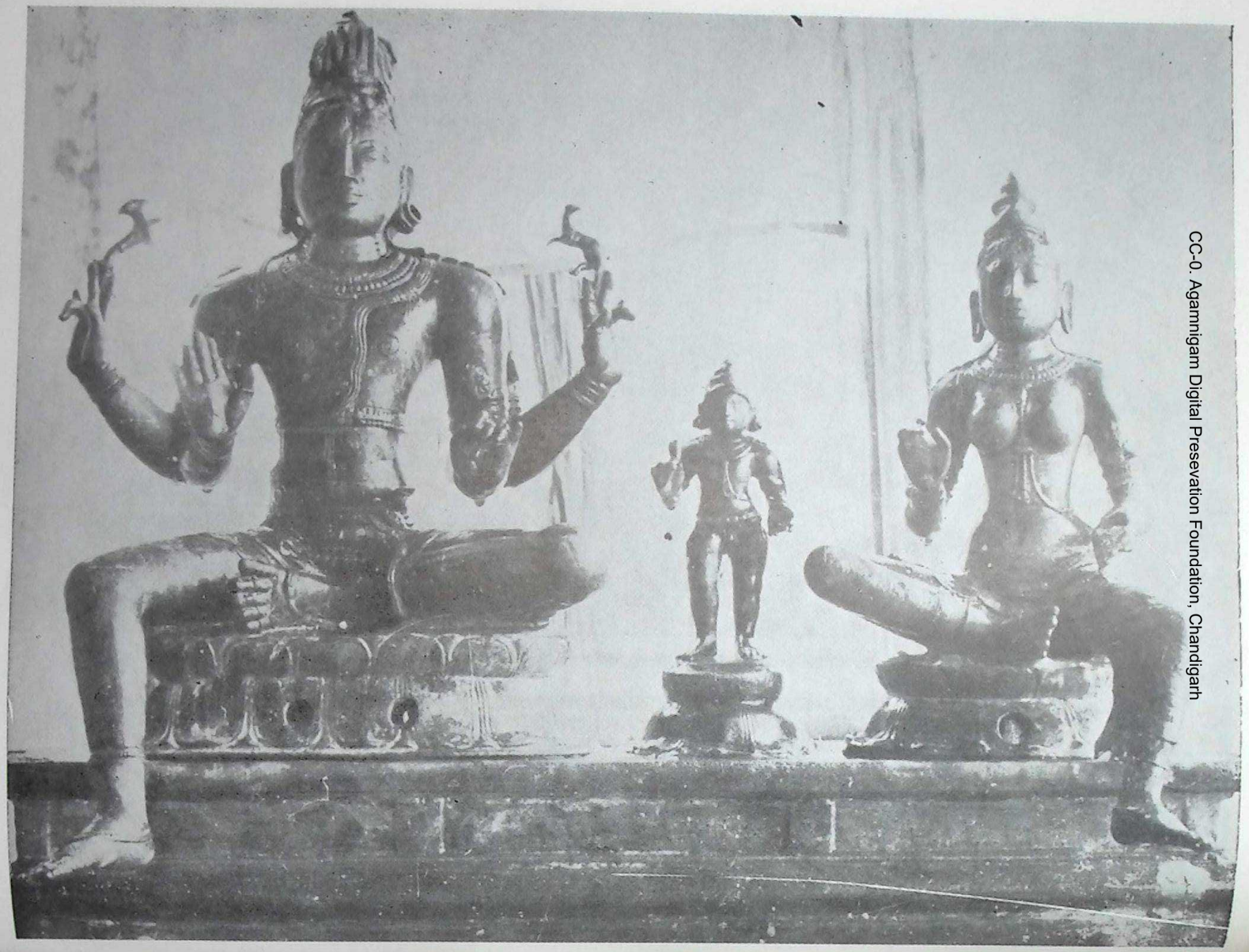
TANJAVUR
ART GALLARY

KAPPALUR
Kaliyaditta Vishnugriham

Pl. 146 Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman (bronze)

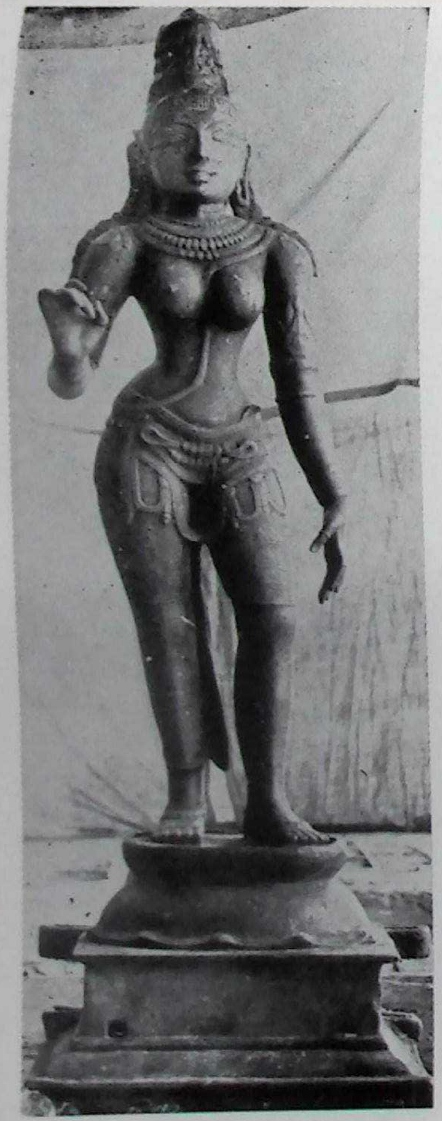
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TANDANTOTTAM
Natanapurisvarar
temple (bronze)

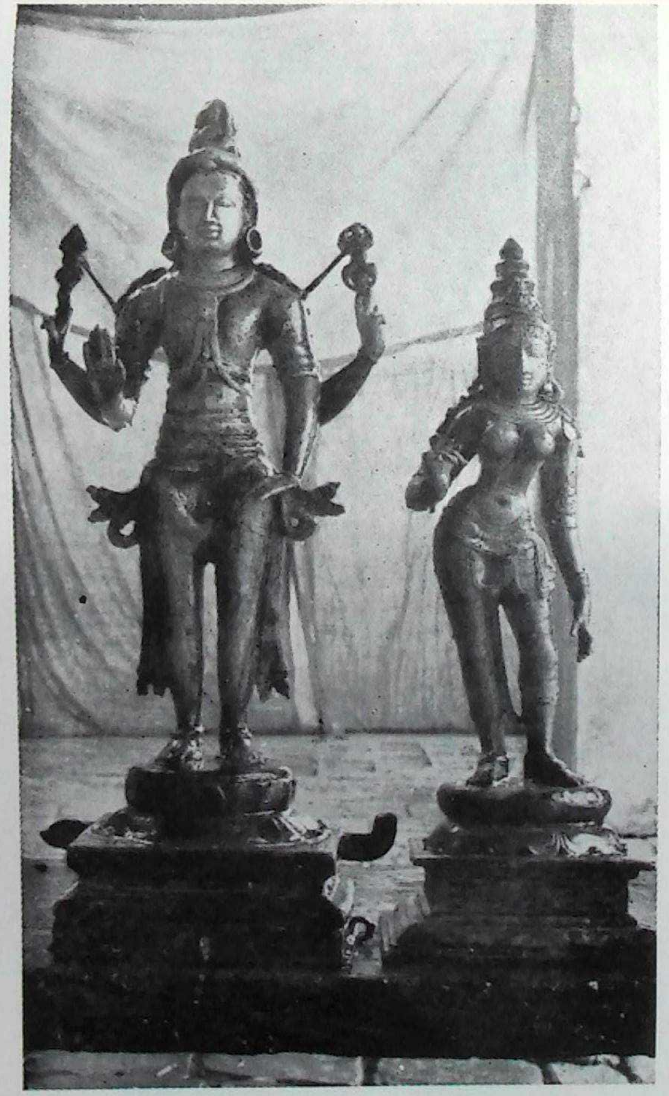


Pl. 145 Soma-skanda

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 146 Uma



Pl. 147 Subrahmanya and Devasena

Pl. 148 Chandesvarar

TANDANTOTTAM

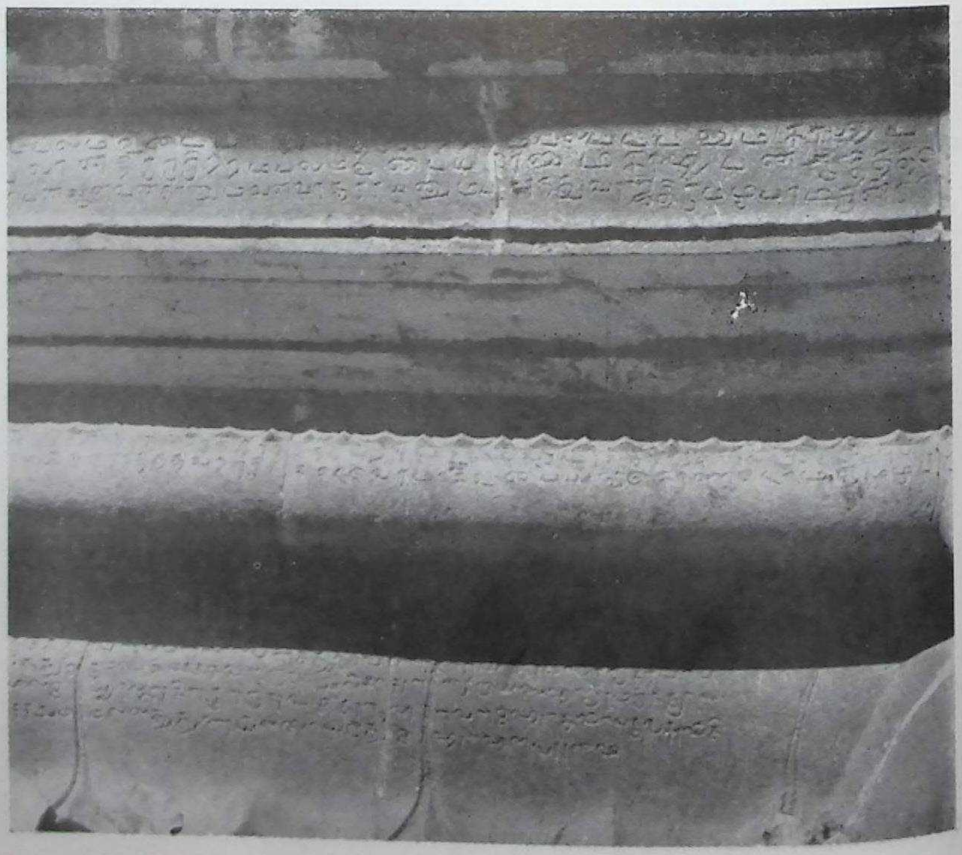
Natanapurisvarar temple (bronzes)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 149 Sri vimana

GOVINDAPUTTUR
Gangajathadharar Isvaram temple



Pl. 150
Adhishthana
(mouldings)

Pl. 151 Ganapati

Pl. 153 Brahma

Pl. 152 Vishnu

GOVINDAPUTTUR
Gangajathadharar Isvaram

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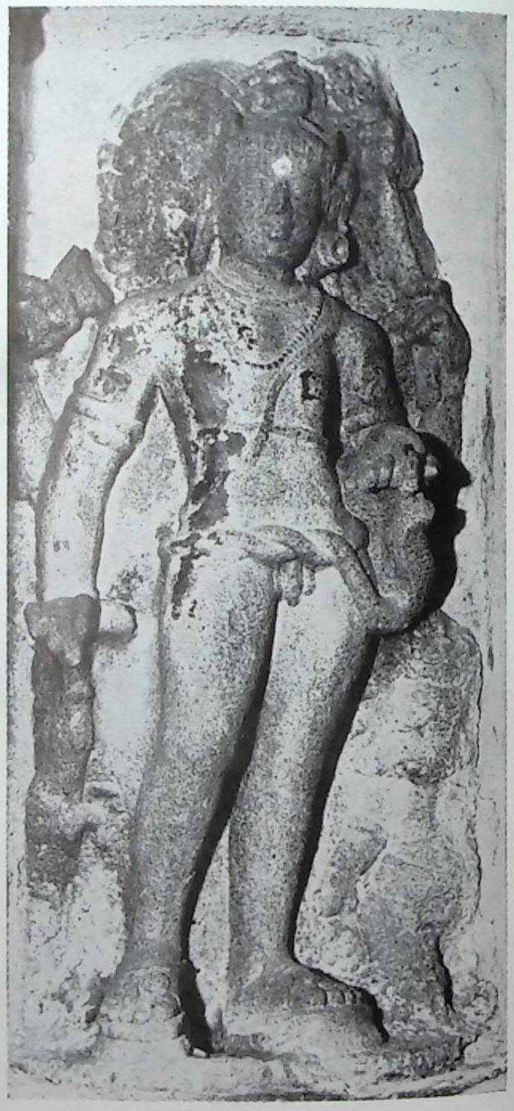
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

GOVINDAPUTTUR
Gangajathadharar Isvaram

Pl. 154 Durga (original devakoshta)



Pl. 155 Bhikshatanar

Pl. 156 Kalarimurti (later insertion)

Pl. 159 Ganapati (bronze)

Pl. 158 Dvarapala

Pl. 157 Dvarapala

GOVINDAPUTTUR, Gangajathadharar Isvaram

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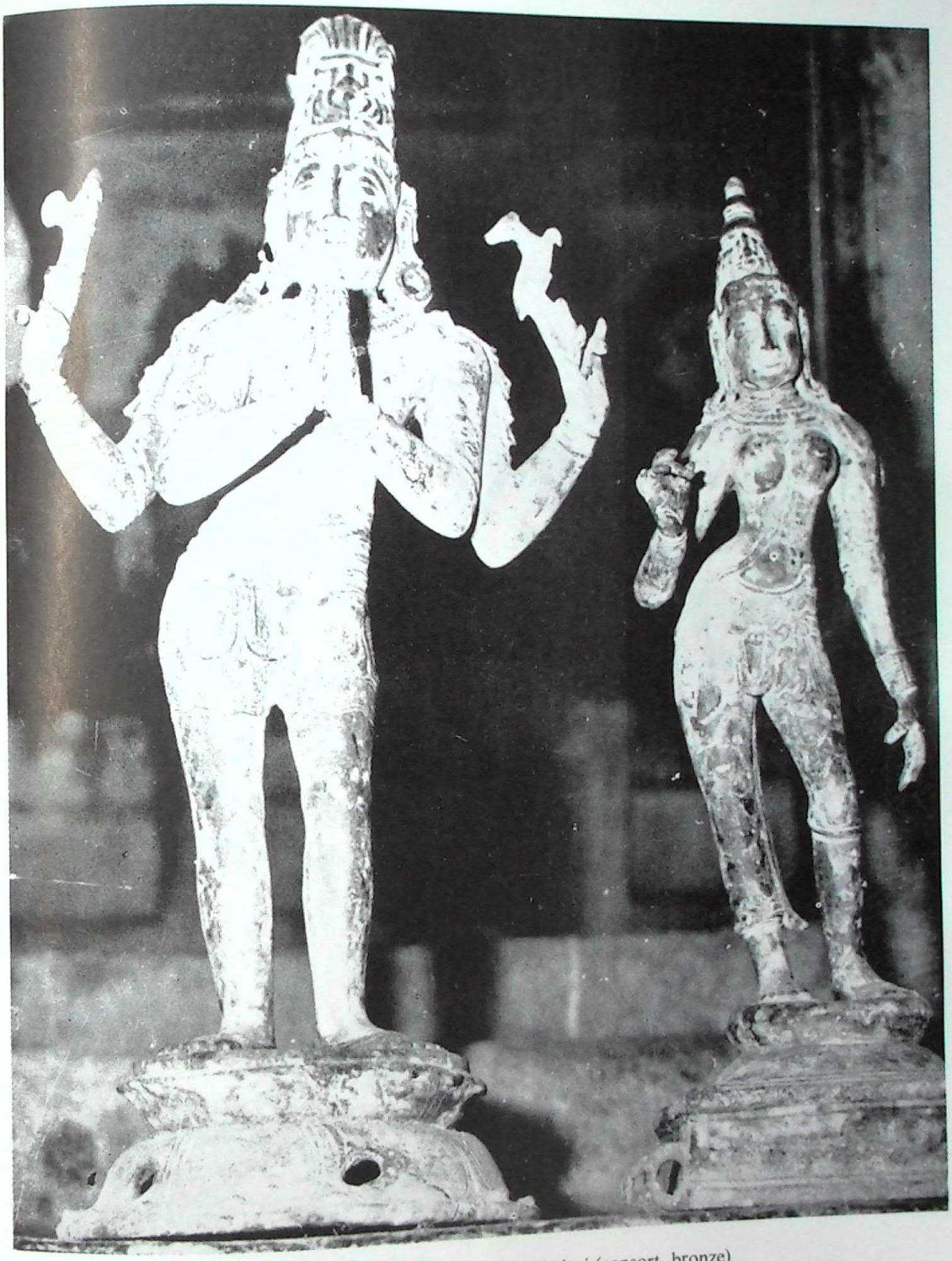
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 160 Nataraja (bronze)

GOVINDAPUTTUR, Gangajathadharar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 161 Nandikesvarar and Urmiladevi (consort, bronze)

GOVINDAPUTTUR, Gangajathadharar temple

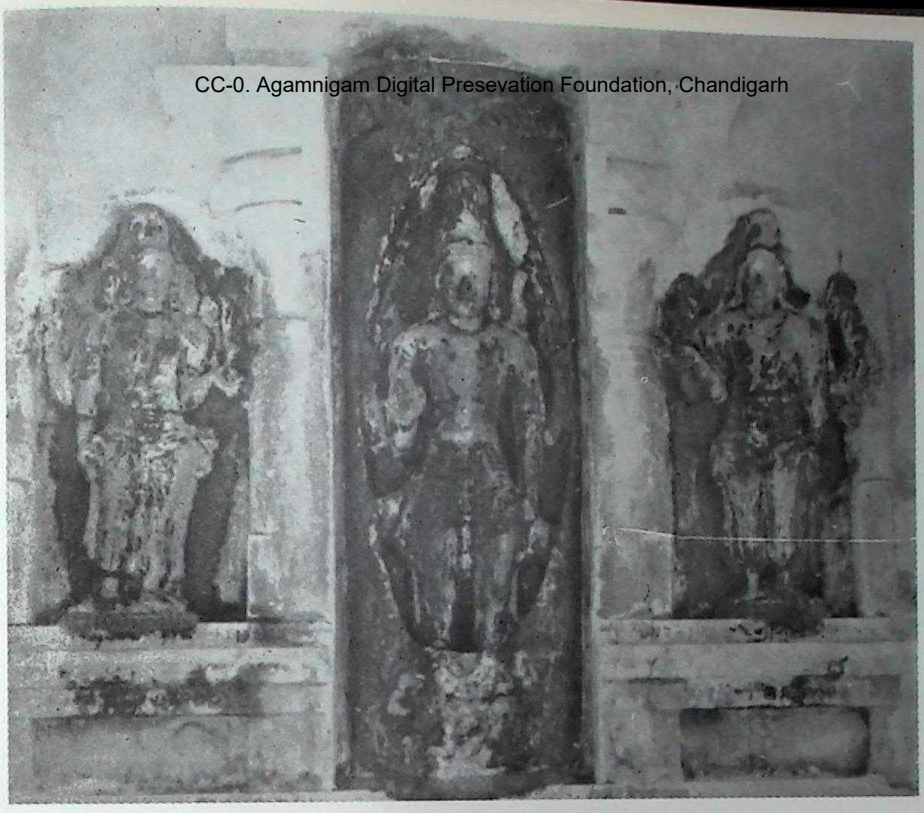
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple

Pl. 162 Nataraja

Pl. 163 Ganapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 165 Lingodbhavar

KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple

Pl. 164 Agastyar

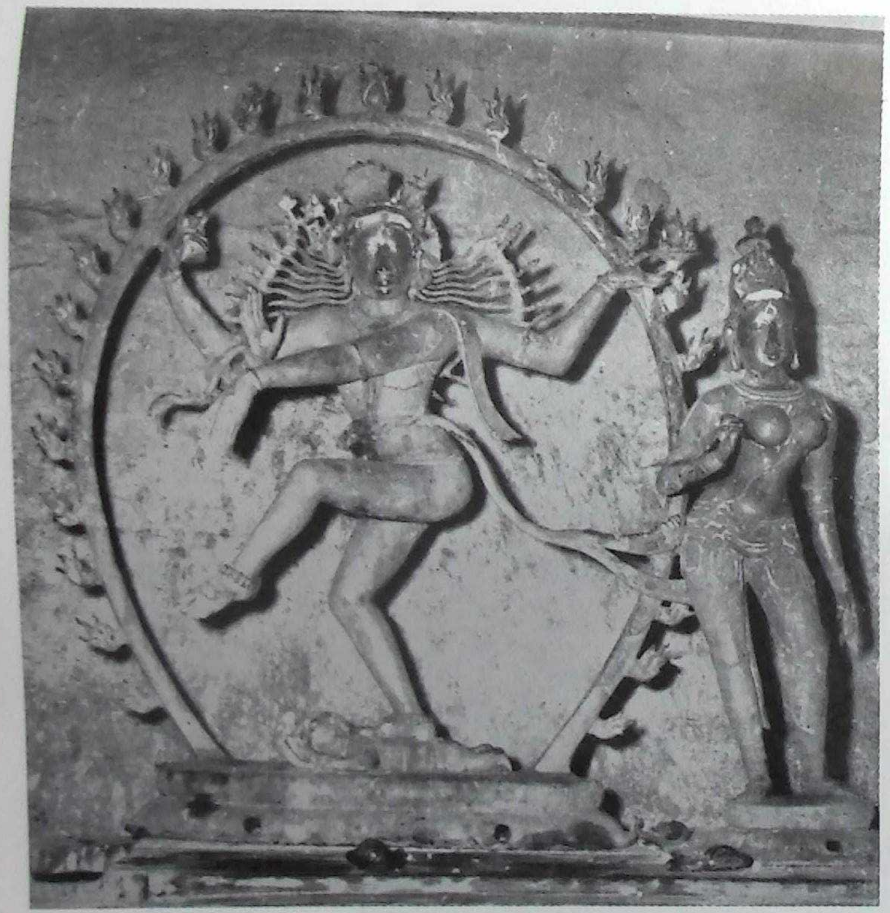
Pl. 166 Bhikshatanar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 167 Gandaraditya worshipping the Linga of Tirunallam

KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple

Pl. 168 Sembiyan Mahadevi's dedicatory inscription



Pl. 170 Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)

KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple

Pl. 169 Nataraja (bronze)

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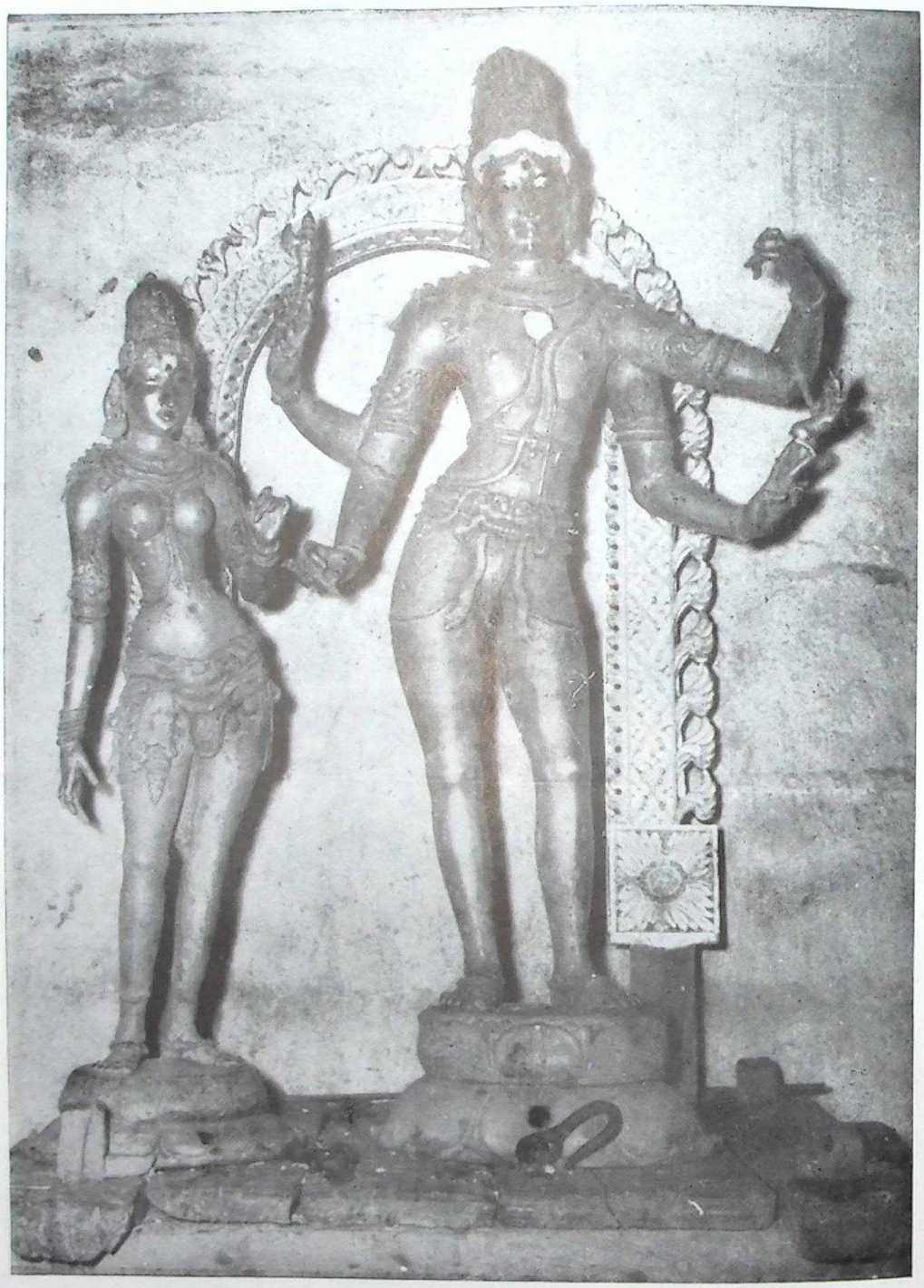
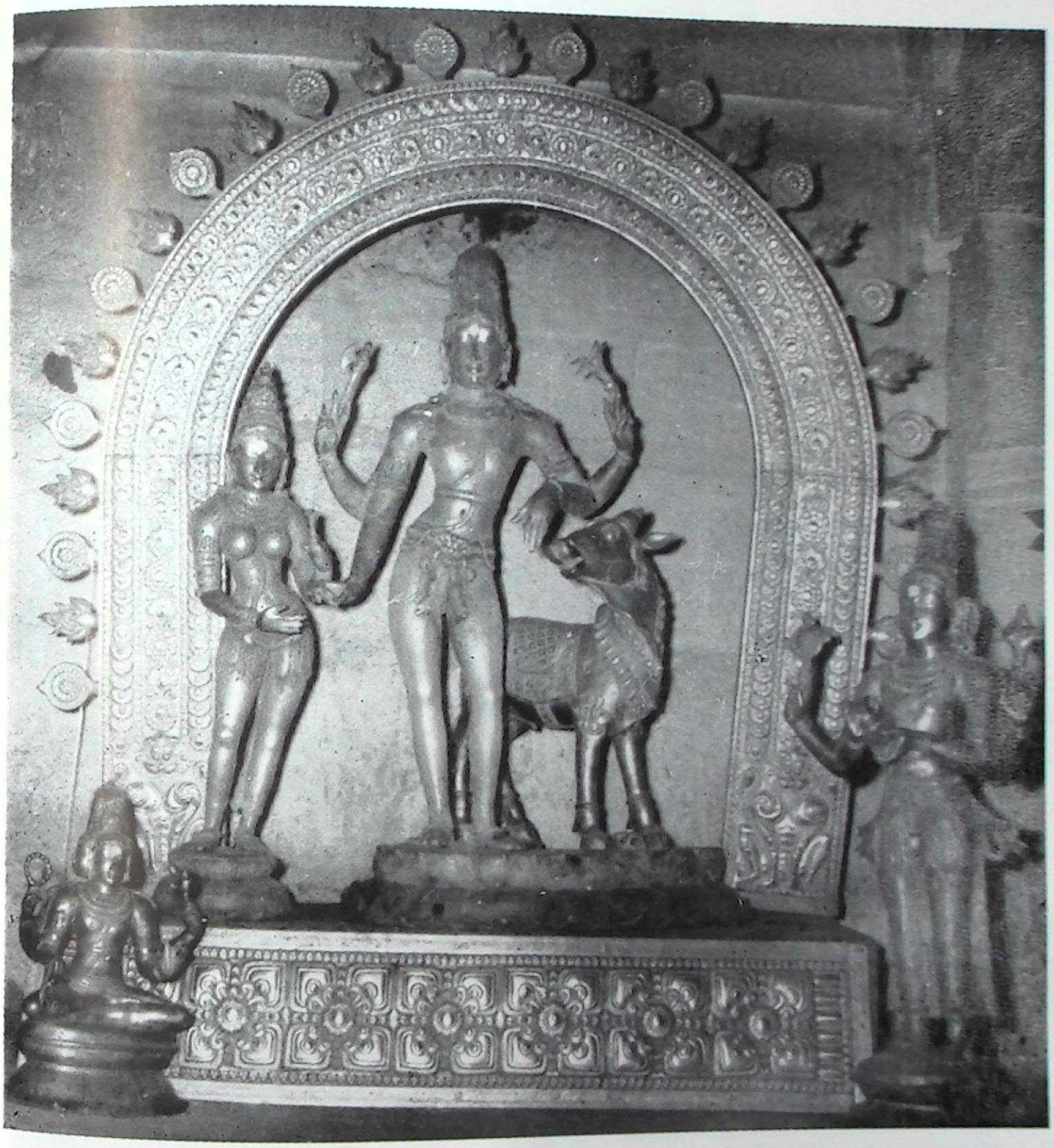
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 171 Tripurantaka and Tripurasundari (bronze)

KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

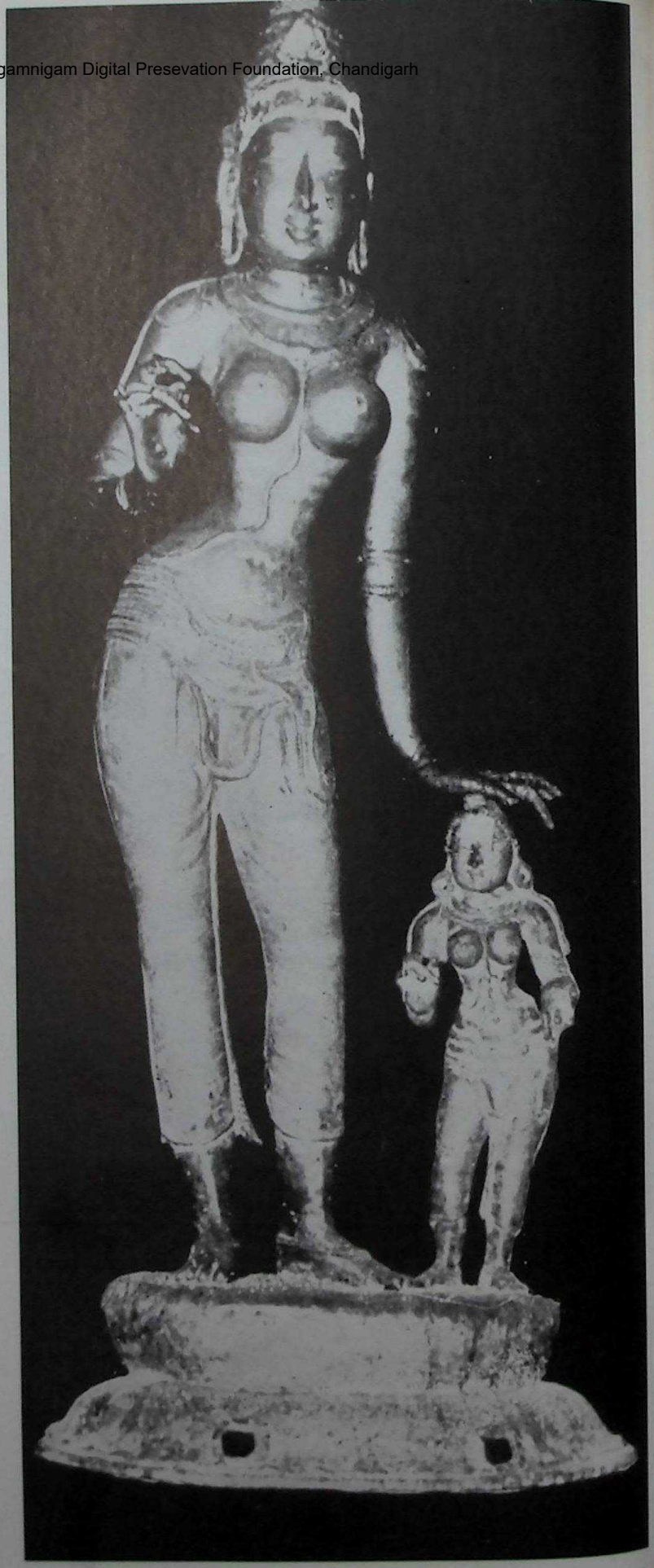


Pl. 172 Kalyanasundarar (bronze)

KONERIRAJAPURAM, Uma-Mahesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

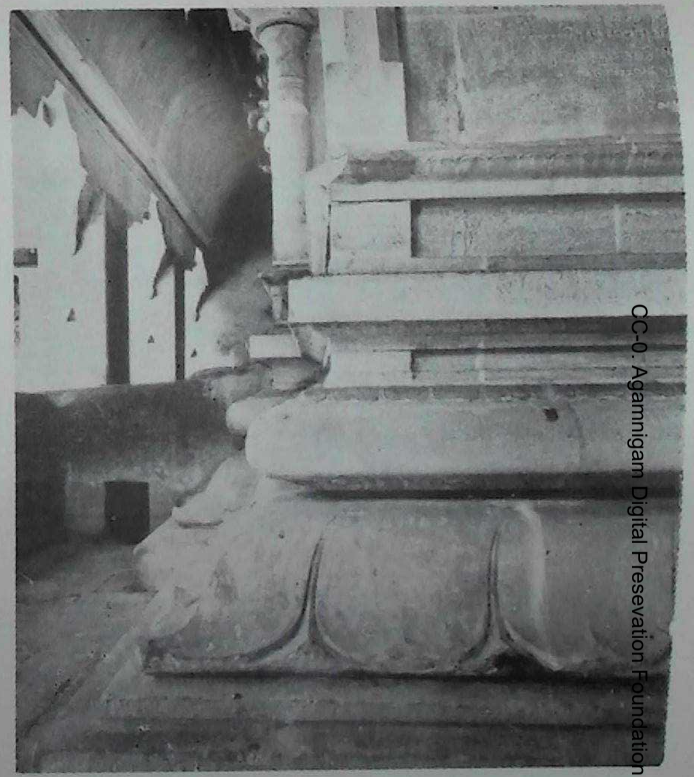
KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple



Pl. 173 Bhogesvari (The earliest Sembiyan bronze)

Pl. 174 Ganapati

Pl. 175 Dakshinamurti



Pl. 176 Adhishthana

ADUTURAI
Apatsahayesvarar temple

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 177 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 178 Bhikshatanar

ADUTURAI, Apatsahayesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 179 Ganga-Visarjanamurti

ADUTURAI
Apatsahayesvarar temple

Pl. 180 Gandaraditya (?) worshipping the Linga

Pl. 181 Appar

KUTTALAM

Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple (bronzes)

Pl. 182 Sundarar

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KUTTALAM
Cholisvaram Udaiyar temple

Pl. 183 Manikkavasagar
(bronze)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 184 Bhogesvari
(bronze, Sembiyan age)

KUTTALAM
Cholisvaram Udaiyar
temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 185 Nataraja (bronze, Sembiyan age)

TIRUNARAIYAR
Siddhesvarasvamin temqle

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

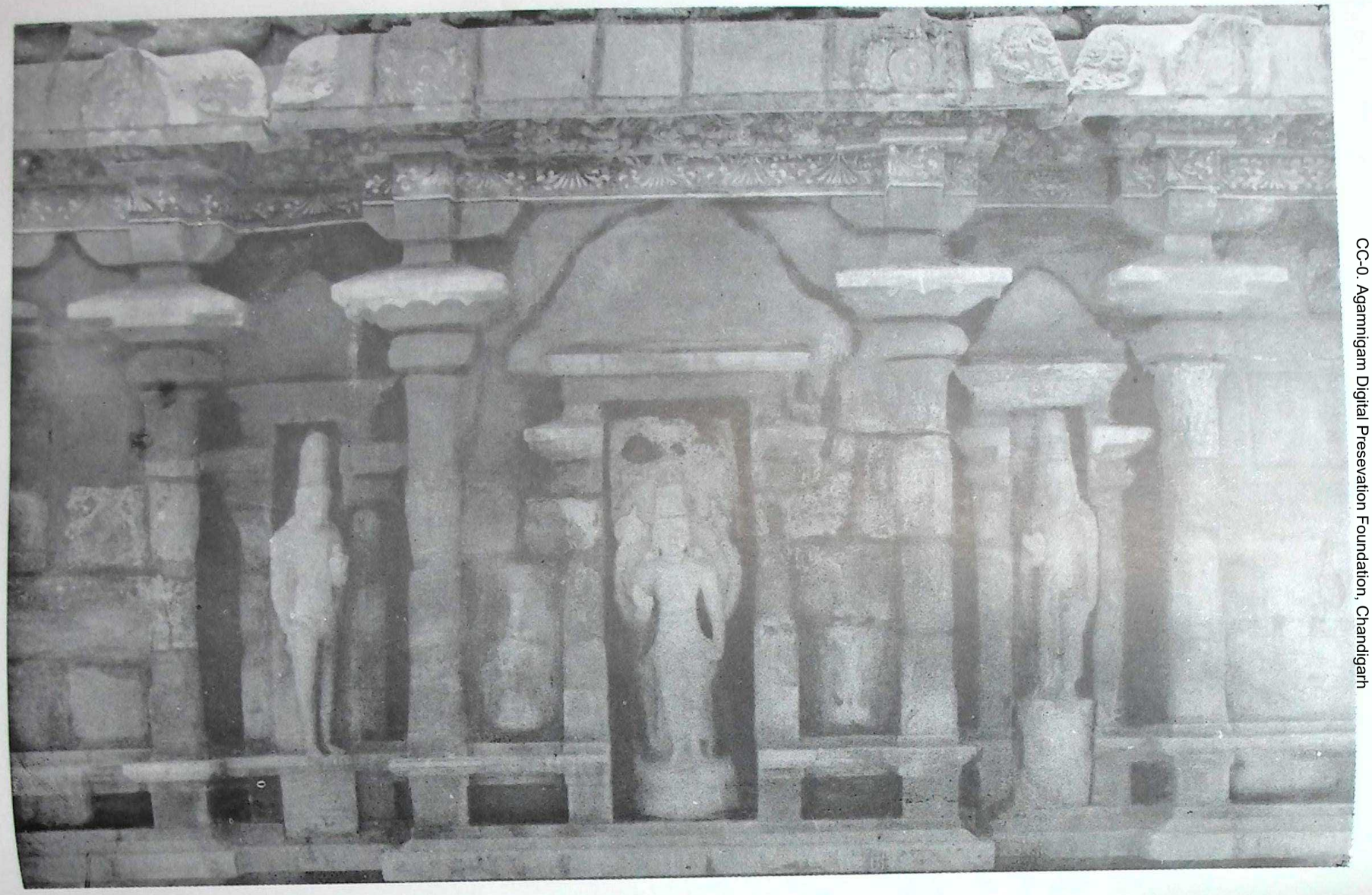
Pl. 184 Bhogesvari
(bronze, Sembiyan age)

KUTTALAM
Cholisvaram Udaiyar
temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 185 Nataraja (bronze, Sembiyan age)

TIRUNARAIYAR
Siddhesvarasvamin temqle



Pl. 186 Sri vimana (western side)

SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 187 Bhikshatanar

Pl. 188 Jyeshthadevi

SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple

Pl. 189 Balasubrahmanya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 190 (g) Vaishnavi

SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI
Kailasanathar temple (Saptamatrikas)

Pl. 190 (a, b, c) Brahmi, Mahesvari, Kaumari

Pl. 190 (d, e, f) Varahi, Indrani, Chamunda

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Pl. 191 Durga

Pl. 192 Nataraja & Sivakami Amman (bronze)

SEMBIYAN MAHADEVI, Kailasanathar temple]

Pl. 193 Sembiyan Mahadevi (stone-portrait)

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Pl. 195 Koshtapancharam

KARUNTATTANGUDI
(Karandai)
Vasishtesvarar temple

Pl. 194 Sri vimana (south side)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 196 Lingodbhavar (original sculpture)

Pl. 197 Durga (original sculpture)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 198 Vasishtar (or Agastyar, inserted figure)

Pl. 199 Balasubrahmanya (inserted figure)

KARUNTATTANGUDI
Vasishtesvarar temple
(sculptures inserted later)

Pl. 200 Bhikshatanar with Rishipatni

Pl. 201 Sambandar

KARUNTATTANGUDI
Vasishtesvarar temple
(sculptures inserted later)

Pl. 202 Kalarimurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 203 Sri vimana

Pl. 204 Temple, side view (pillars)

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

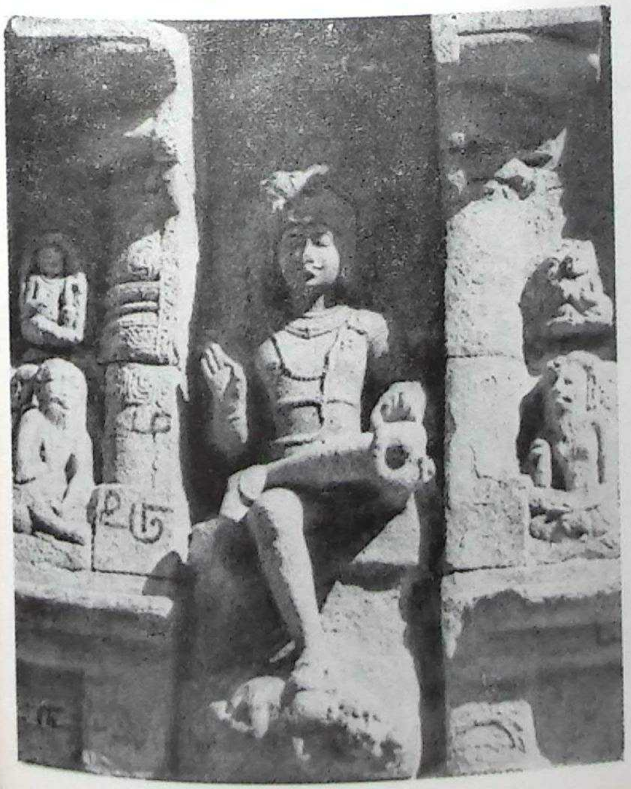
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 205 Ganapati

Pl. 206 Agastyar

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

Pl. 207 Dakshinamurti



Pl. 208 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 209 Brahma

Pl. 210 Ardhanarisvarar

Pl. 211 Dvarapala

Pl. 212 Dvarapala

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 213 Durga

Pl. 214 Bhikshatanar

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 209 Brahma

Pl. 210 Ardhanarisvarar

Pl. 211 Dvarapala

Pl. 212 Dvarapala

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 213 Durga

Pl. 214 Bhikshatanar

ANANGUR, Agastyesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 215 Sri vimana

TIRUKKURUHAVUR
Vellidai Isvaram

Pl. 216 Koshtapancharam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 217 Ganapati

Pl. 218 Dakshinamurti

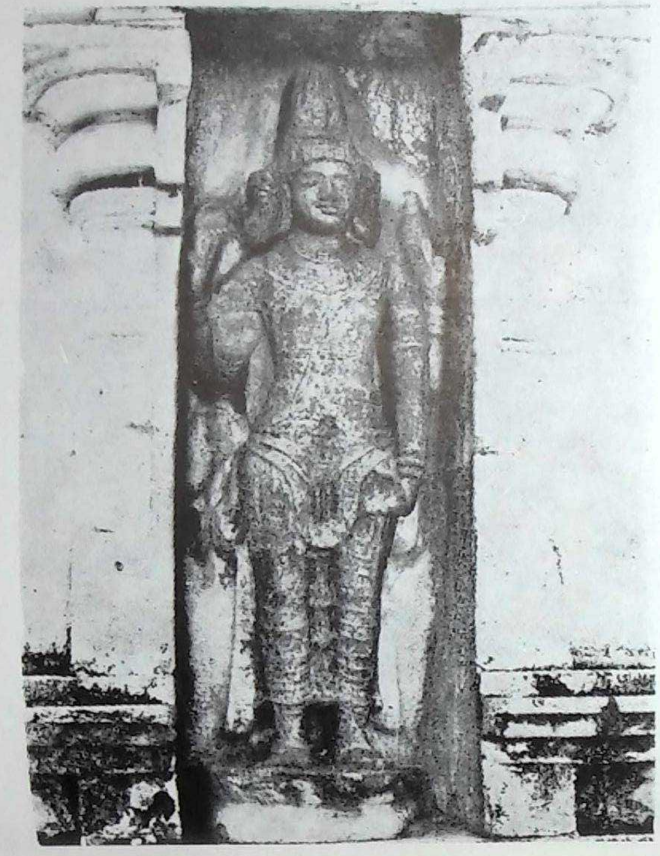
TIRUKKURUHAVUR
Vellidai Isvaram

← Pl. 219 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 221 Durga →

TIRUKKURUHAVUR
Vellidai Isvarm

Pl. 220 Brahma



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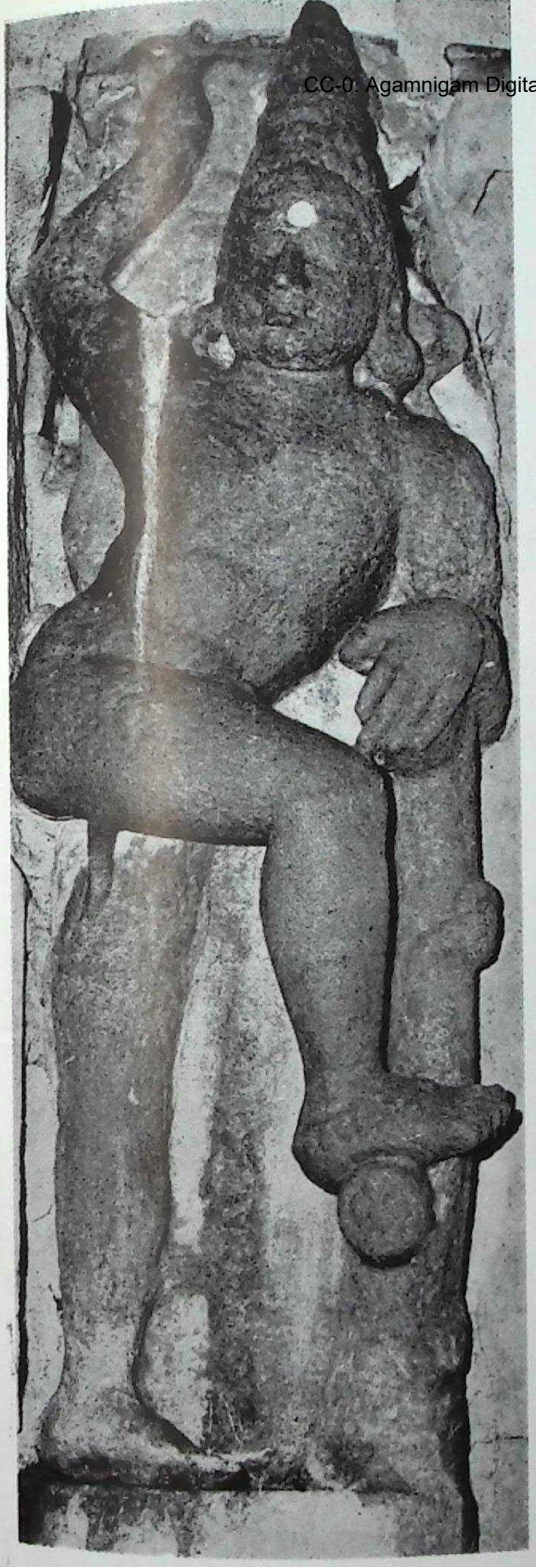
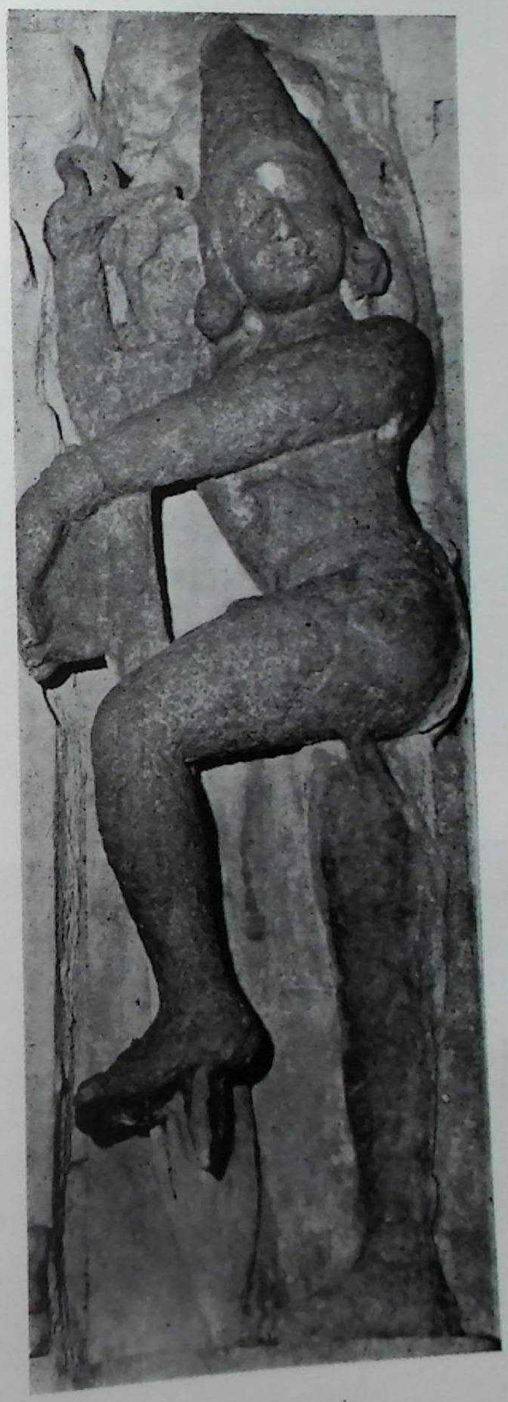
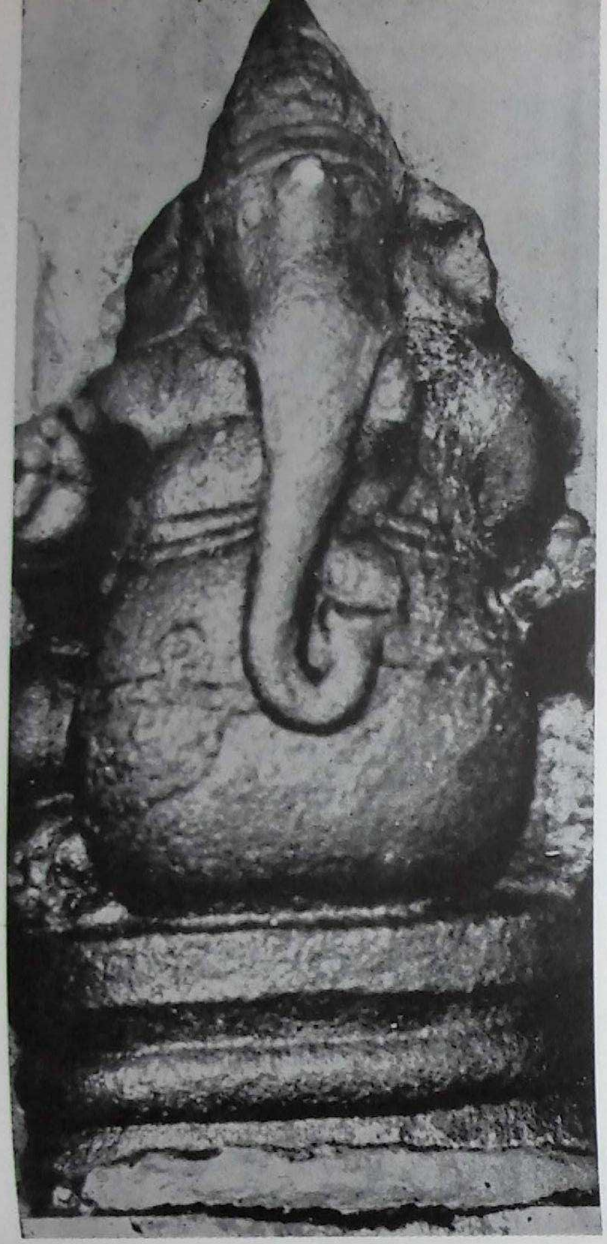
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 222 Dvarapala



Pl. 223 Dvarapala



Pl. 224 Ganapati

Pl. 225 Dakshinamurti

Pl. 226 Nataraja

TIRUMANANJERI
Udvahanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUMANANJERI

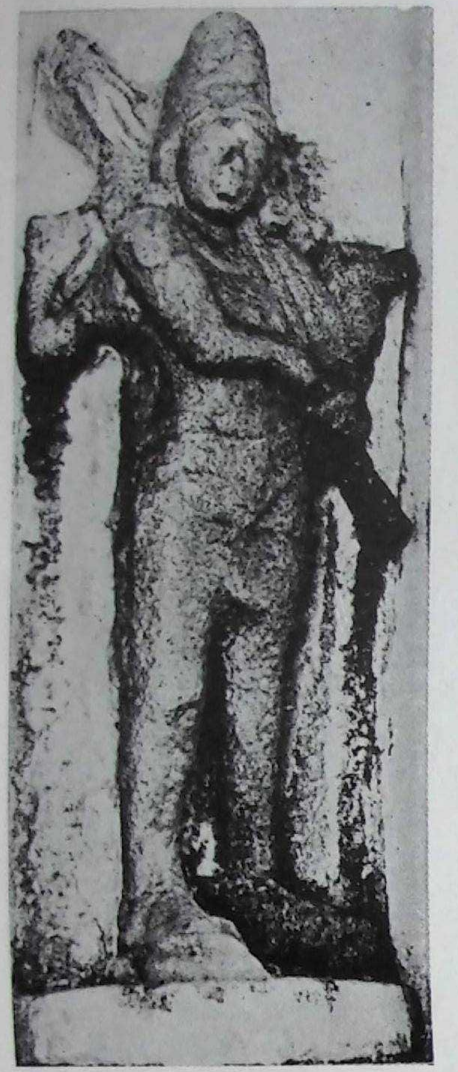
Udvahanesvarar temple

←Pl. 227 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 228 Brahma

Pl. 229 Bhikshatanar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 230 Kankalamurti

←Pl. 231 Durga

Pl. 232 Nagaraja

TIRUMANANJERI
Udvahanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 233 Ganapati (Sembiyan age), bronze

Udaiyanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 234 Kalyanasundaramurti (Sembiyan age), bronze

TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation

Pl. 235 Siva and Parvati (Pradoshamurti), bronze

TIRUMANANJERI, Udvahanesvarar temple

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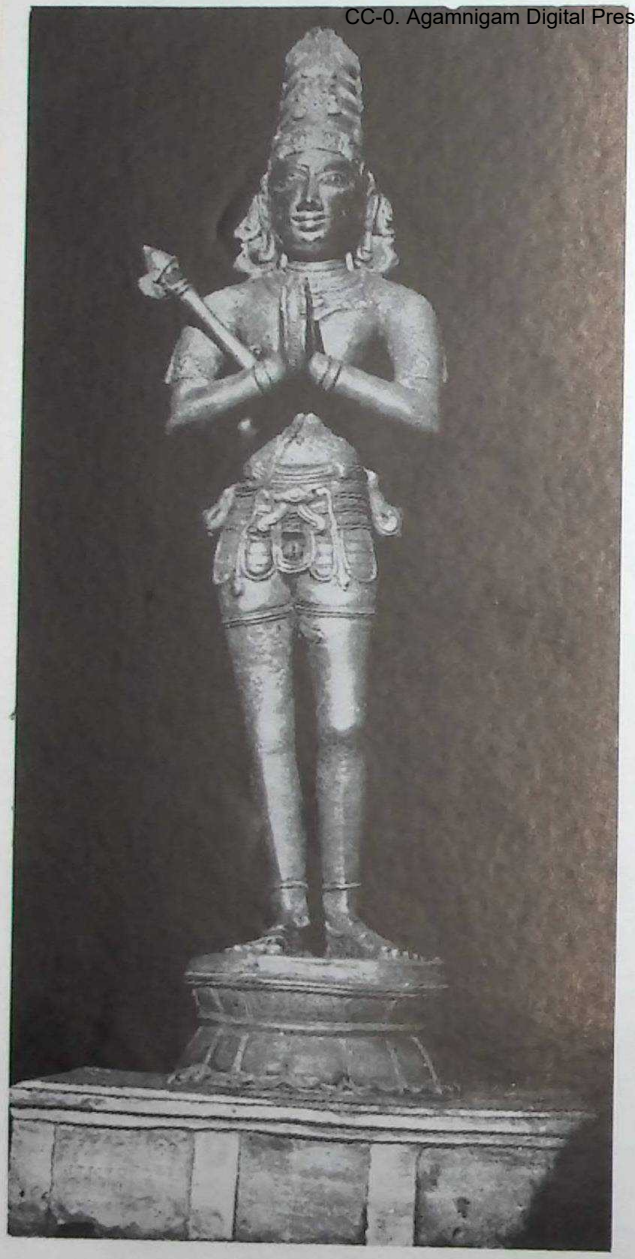
TIRUMANANJERI
Udvahanesvarar temple

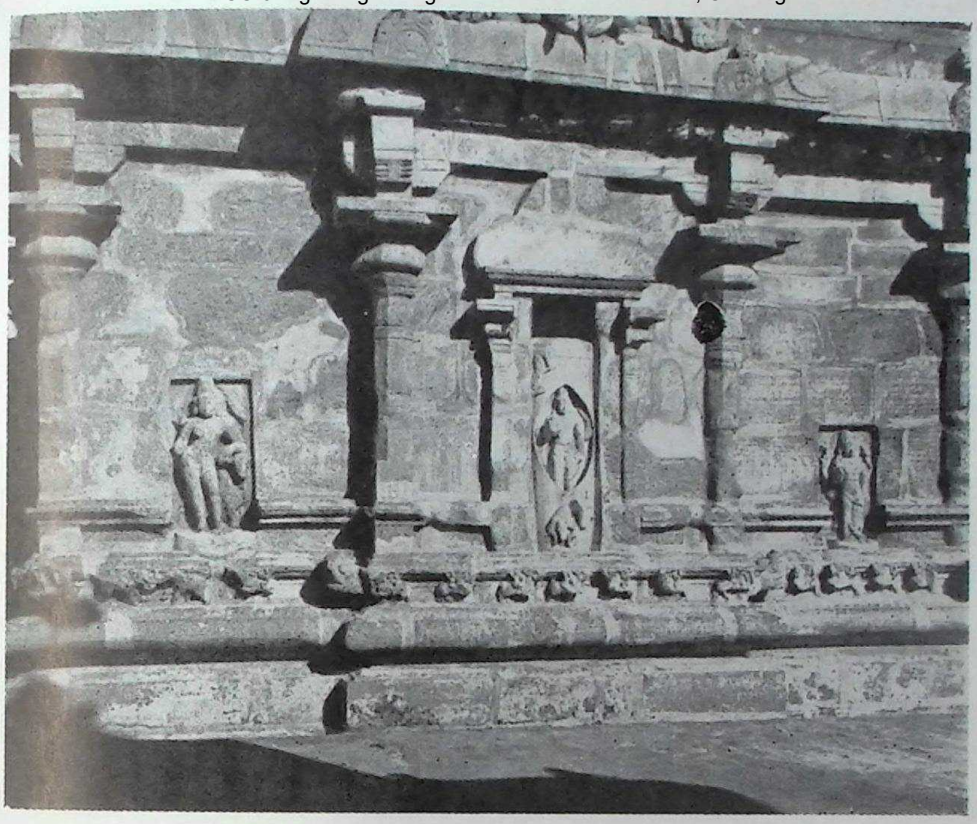


Pl. 236 Chandesvarar (bronze)

Pl. 237 Manikkavasagar (bronze)

Pl. 238 Sri vimana original devakoshta with two later insertions)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



TIRUVELVIKKUDI, Manavalesvarar temple

Pl. 239 Ardhanarisvarar (later insertion)

Pl. 240 Hariharar (later insertion)

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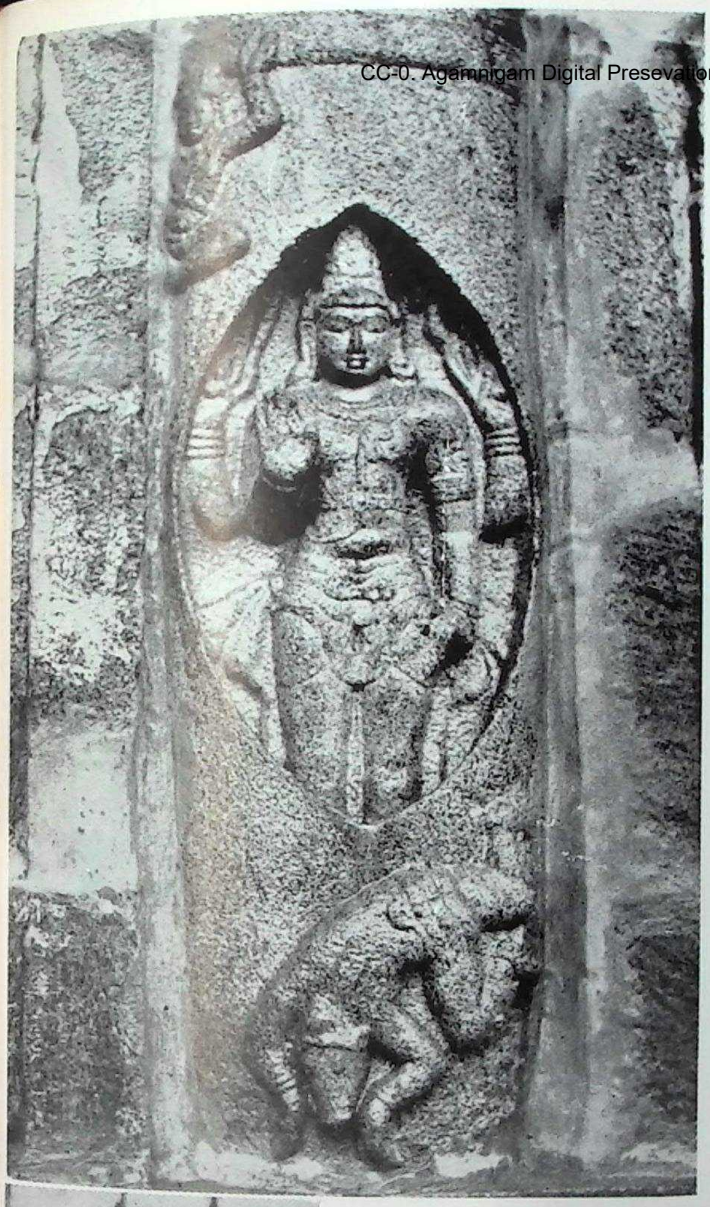
Pl. 241 Torana—Kalayanasundarar

TIRUVELVIKKUDI
Manavalesvarar temple

Pl. 242 Bhogesvari

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 243 Lingodbhavar

Pl. 244 Nataraja

Pl. 245 Dakshinamurti

Pl. 246 Agastyar (later insertion)

TIRUVELVIKKUDI
Manavalesvarar temple

Pl. 247 Gandaraditya worshipping Linga *(later insertion)*

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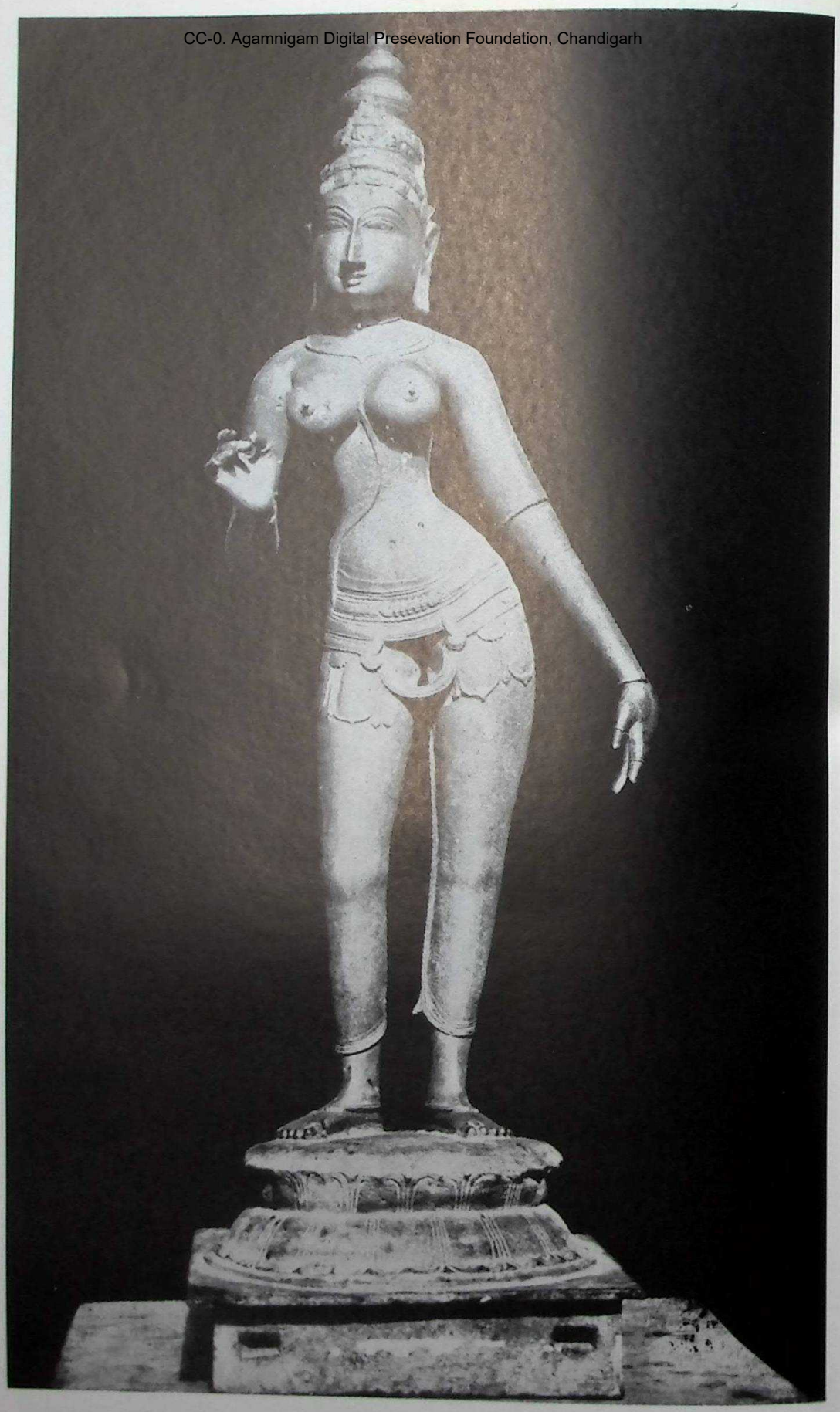
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

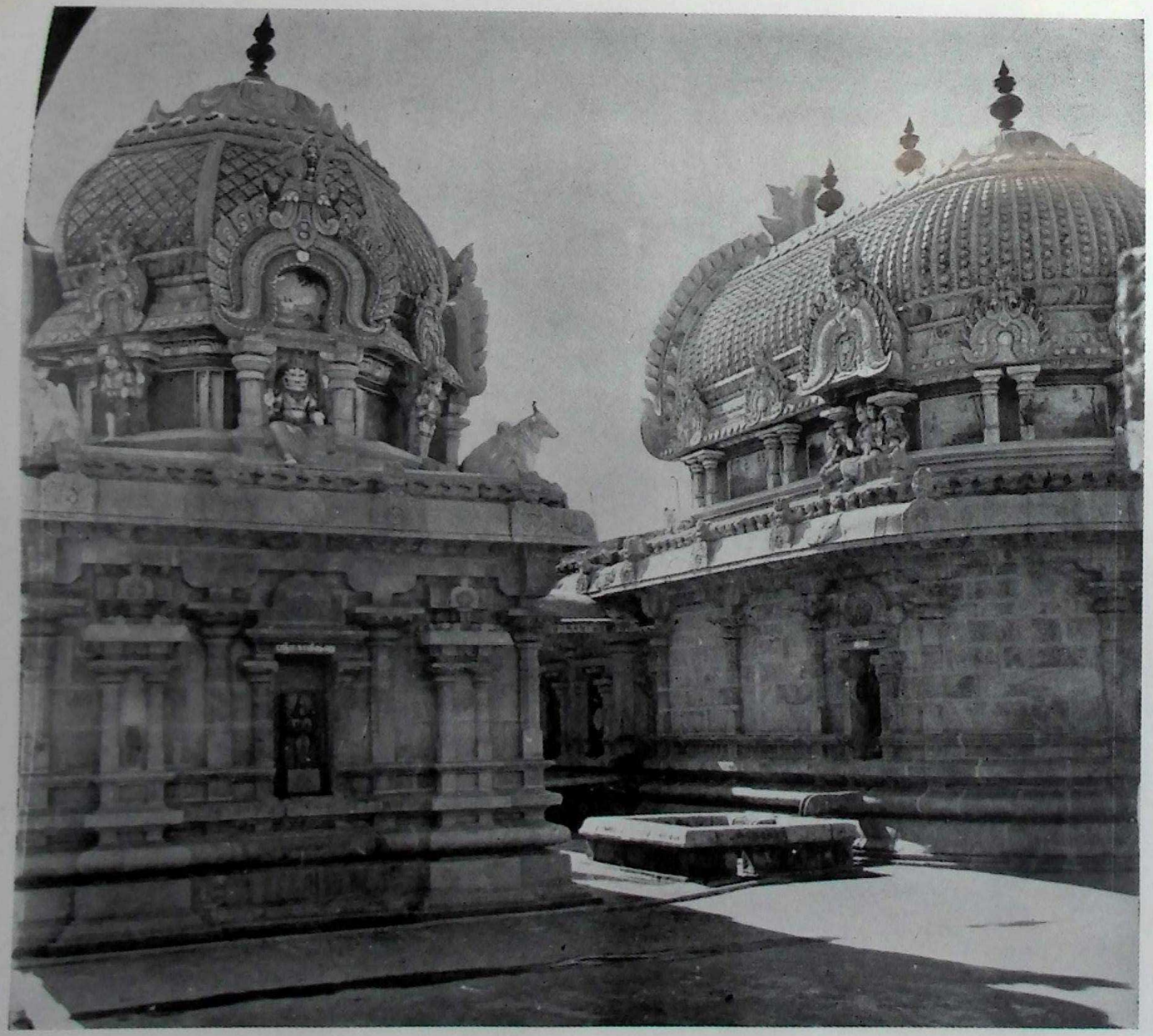
Pl. 248 Kalayansundarar (Sembyian bronze)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 249 Tani-amman (bronze)

TIRUVELVIKKUDI, Manavalesvarar temple

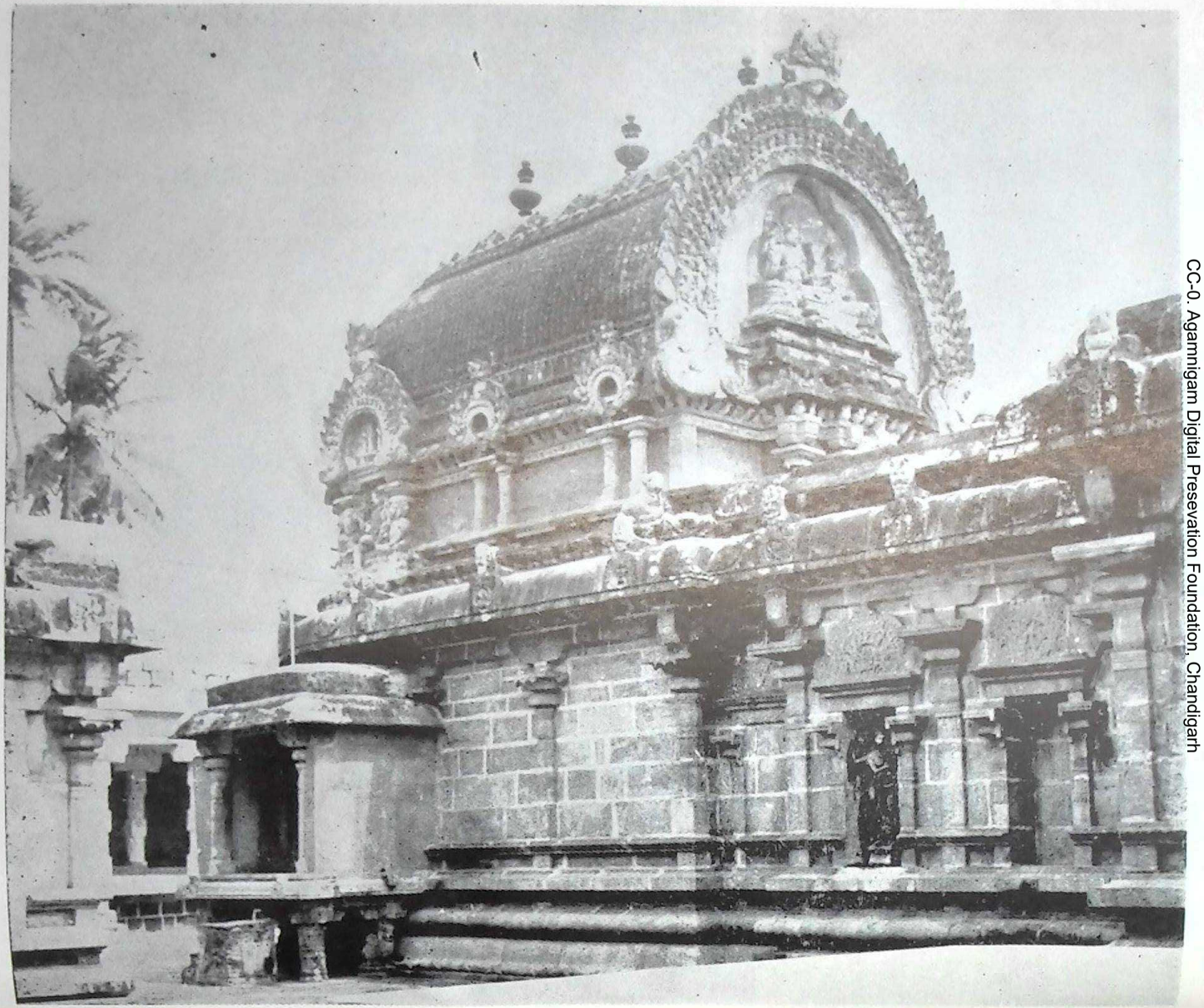


TIRUMIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinadesvarar and Sakalabhuvanesvarar temples (side by side)

Pl. 250 The two sri vimanas

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 251 Sri vimana



TIRUMIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinadesvarar temple
(the main temple)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 252 Torana (two forms of Nataraja)

Pl. 253 Nataraja and Sivakami Amman (bronze)

TIRUMIYACHCHUR

Muyarchinadesvarar temple

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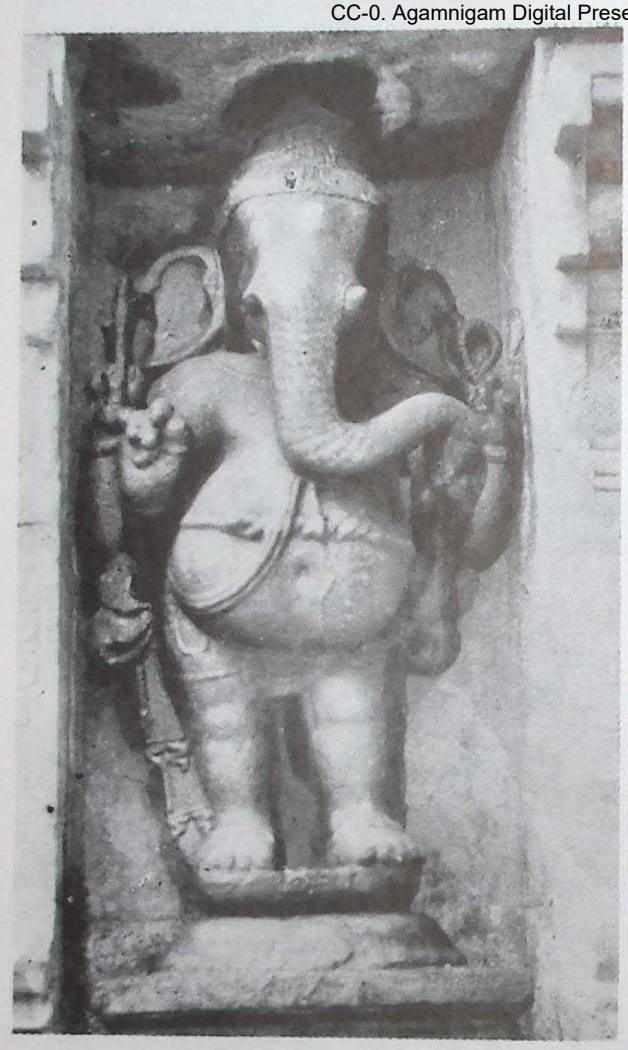


Pl. 254 Ganapati

Pl. 255 Lingodbhavar

TIRUMIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinadesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 256 Brahma

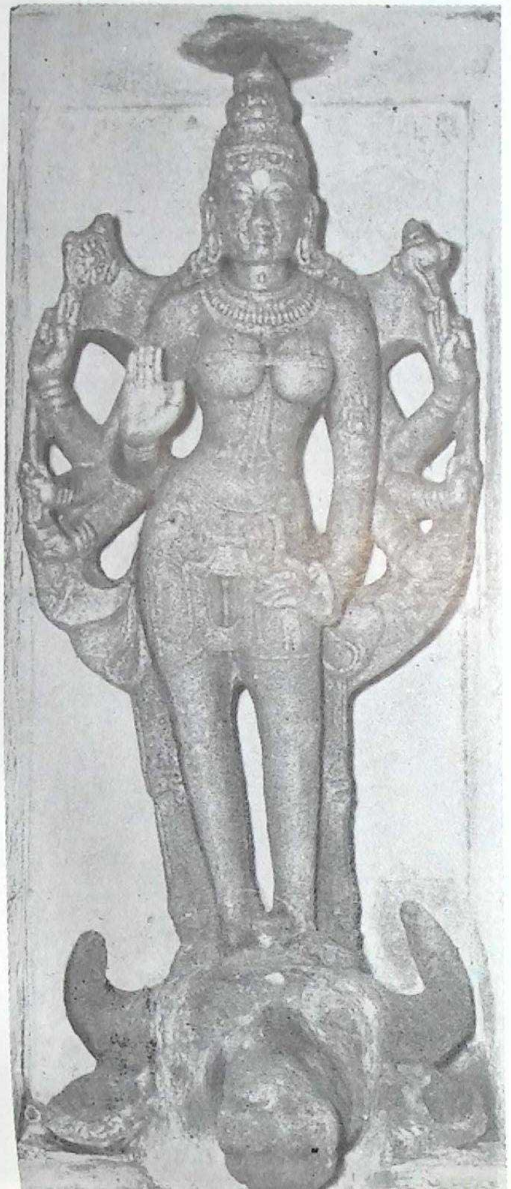
Pl. 257 Gangadharar with Parvati

TIRUMIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinadesvarar temple

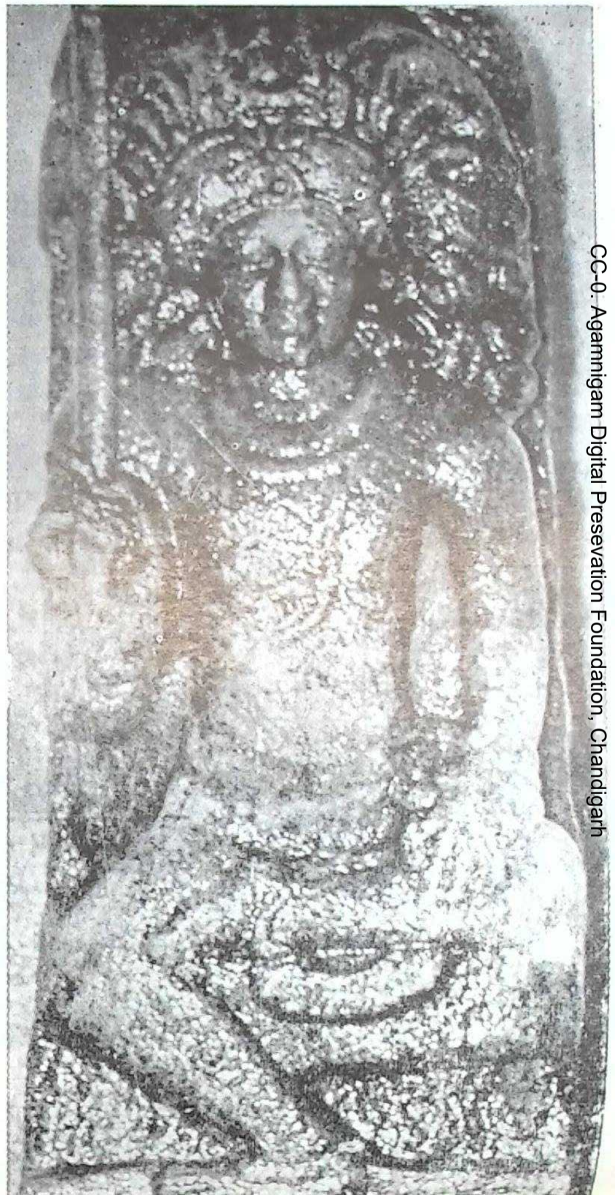
TIRUMIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinadesvarar temple

Pl. 258 Rishabhantikamurti

Pl. 259 Durga



Pl. 260 Chandesvarar



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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 261 Sri vimana

PENNADAM
Pralayakalesvarar temple (apsidal Sri vimana

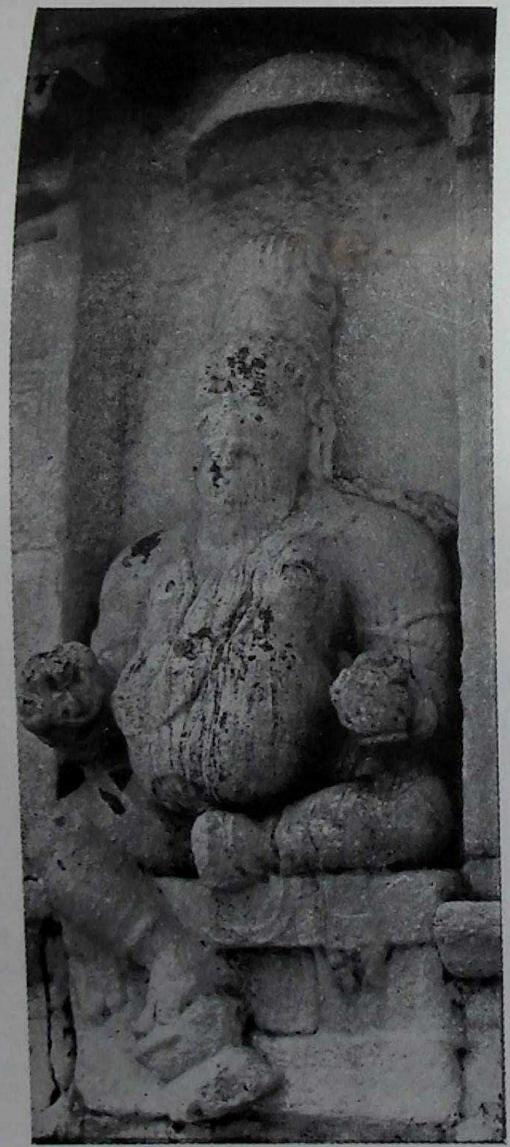
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 262 Sri vimana

TIRUVARUR
Achalesvaram (Araneri Isvaram)

Pl. 263 Ganapati

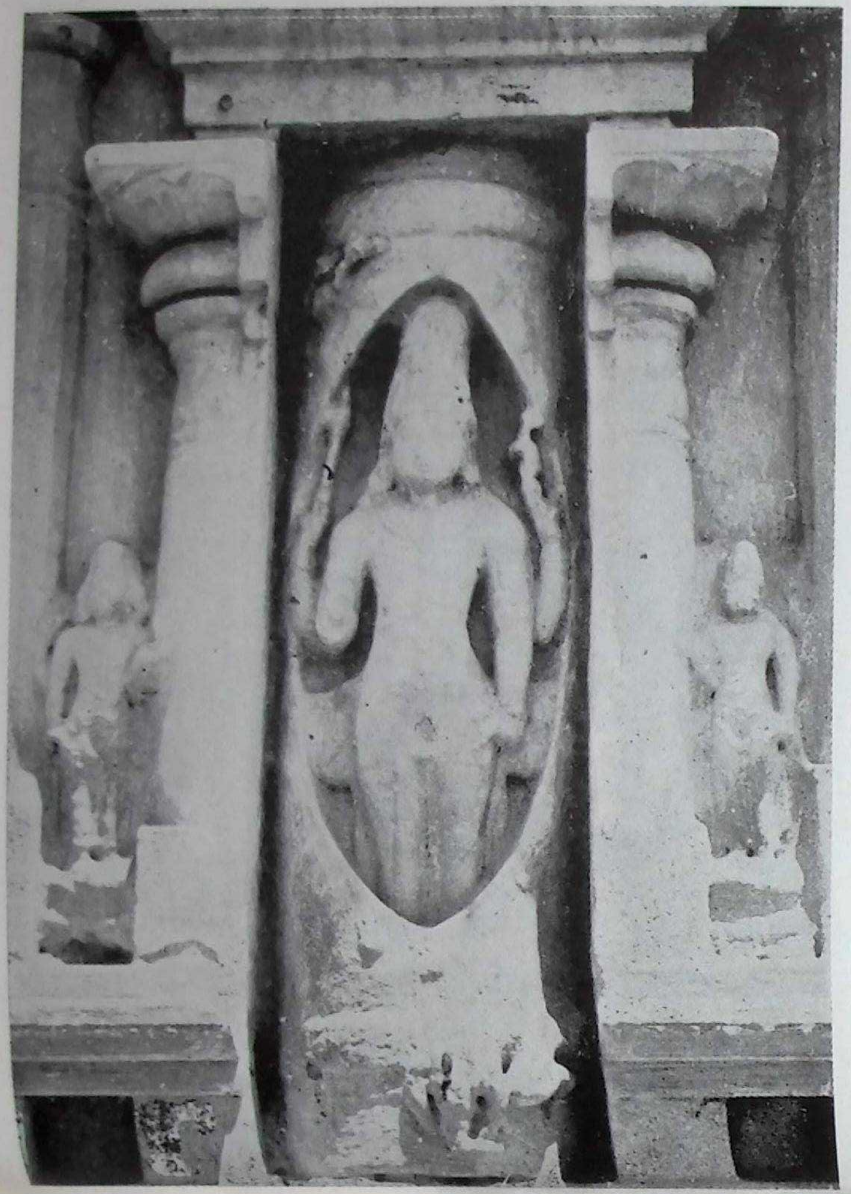
TIRUVARUR, Achalesvaram



Pl. 264 Agastyar

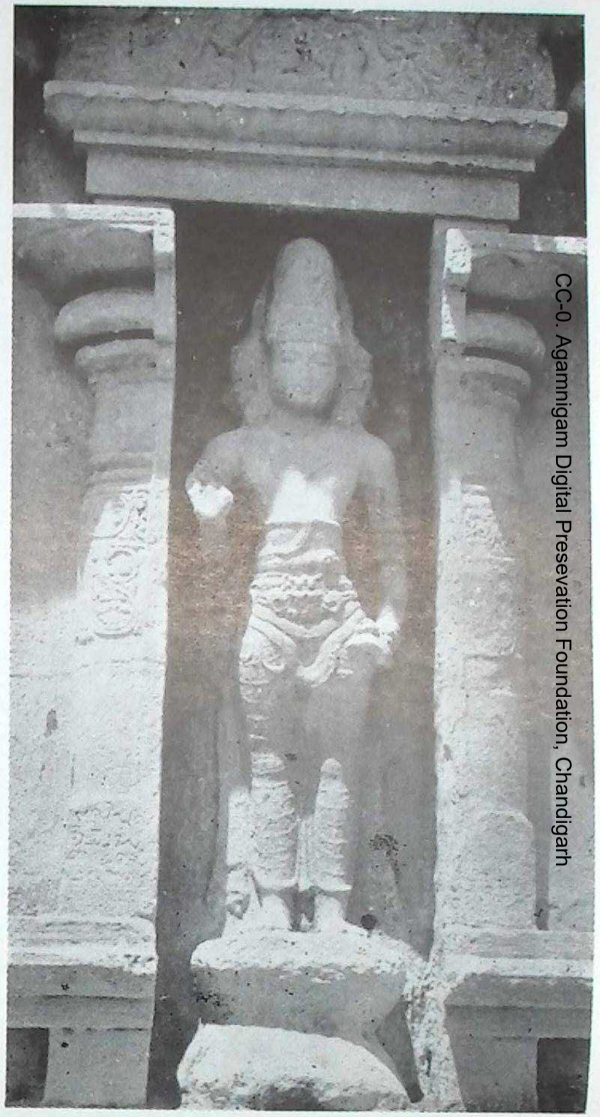
Pl. 265 Dakshinamurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



TIRUVARUR
Achalesvaram

Pl. 266 Lingodbhavar



Pl. 267 Brahma

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 268 Ardhanarisvarar

Pl. 269 Bhikshatanar

TIRUVARUR
Achalesvaram

TIRUVARUR, Achalasvaram

Pl. 270 Durga

Pl. 271 Dvarapala

Pl. 272 Dvarapala

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← Pl. 273

Pl. 274 →

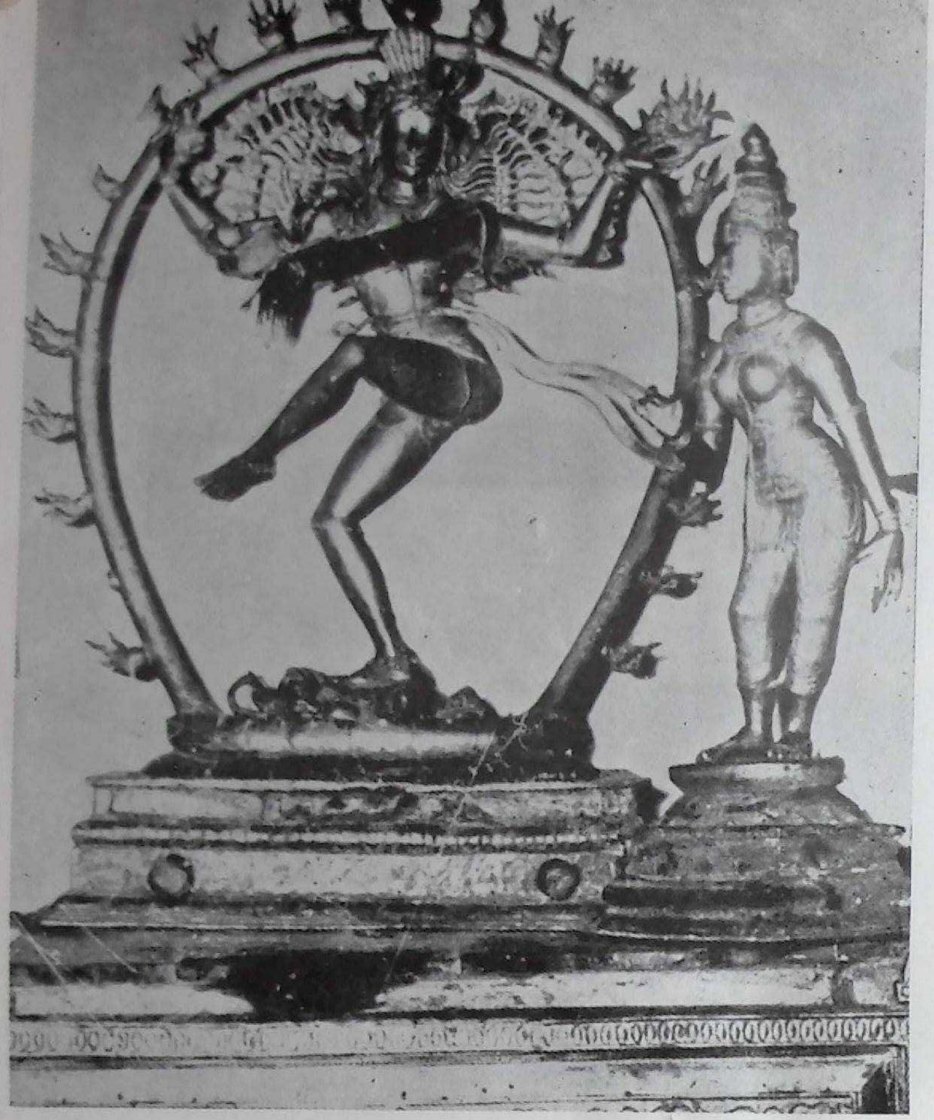
TIRUVARUR

Achalesvaram (Araneri Isvaram)

Attendant deities (Rishis ?)

Pl. 275→

Pl. 276→



Pl. 278 Nataraja and consort (Sembiyan age)

VEDARANYAM, Vedaranyesvarar temple

MAYURAM
Mayuranadasvamin
temple

Pl. 277 Durga→
(Sembiyan age)

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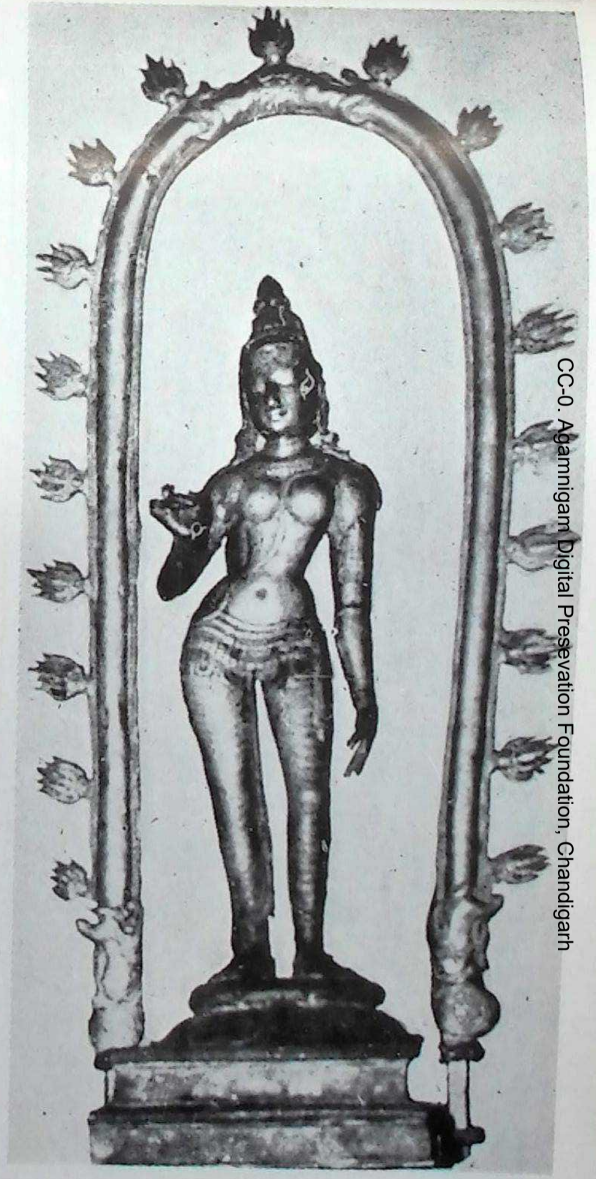
Pl. 279 Nataraja
←(Sembiyan age)

VRIDDHACHALAM
Vriddhagirisvarar temple



Pl. 280 Bhogesvari (Sembiyan age)

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Pl. 281 Adivarahaperumal

Pl. 282 Ganapati

Pl. 283 Purusha

TIRUVIDANDAI, Varahaperumal temple

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Pl. 284 Satya (Vishnu)

Pl. 285 Vishnu-Durga

TIRUVIDANDAI
Varahaperumal temple

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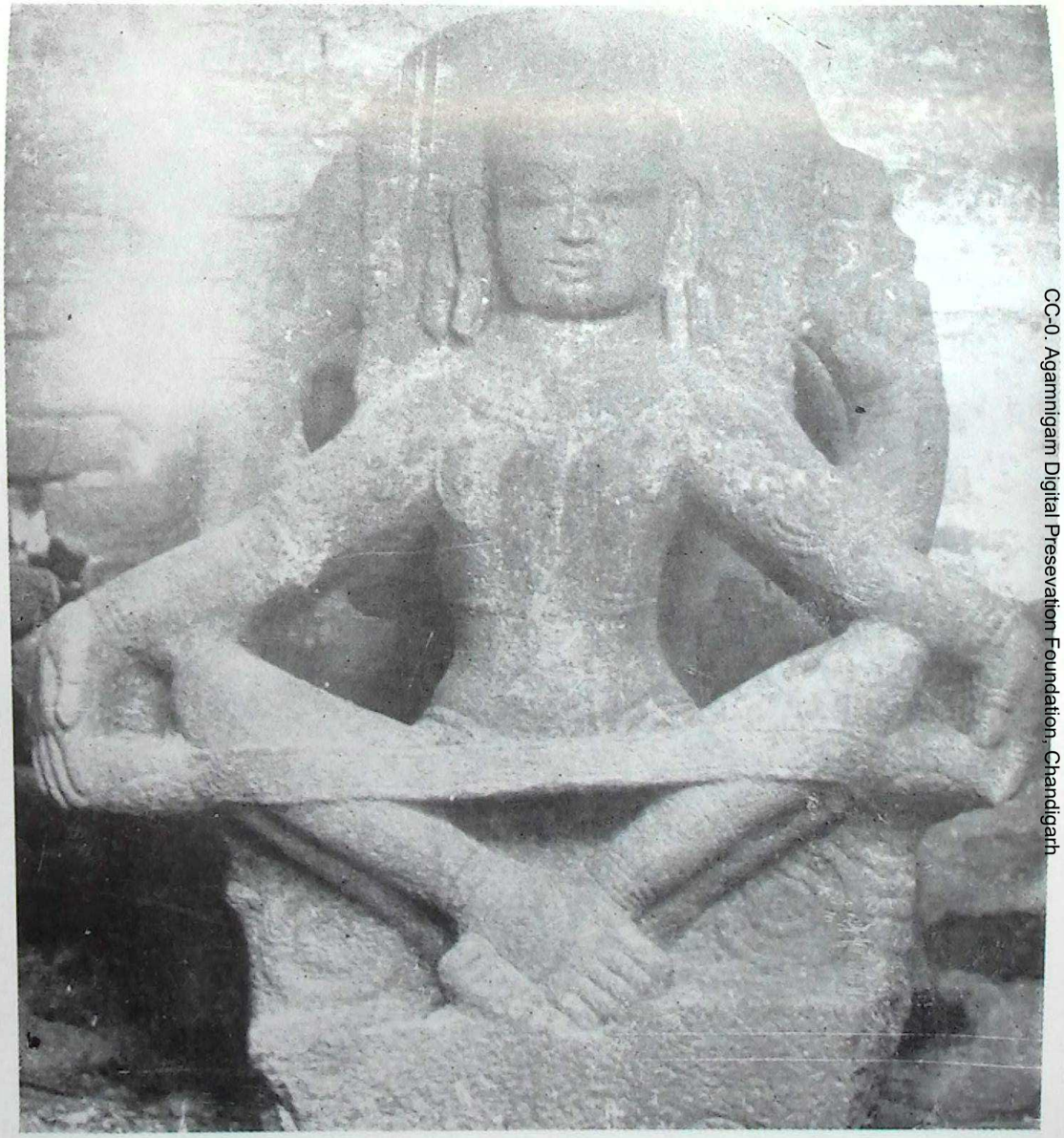
PARAMESVARAMANGALAM
Senbakesvarar temple

Pl. 286 Sri vimana

Pl. 287 Ganapati

Pl. 288 Virabhadra



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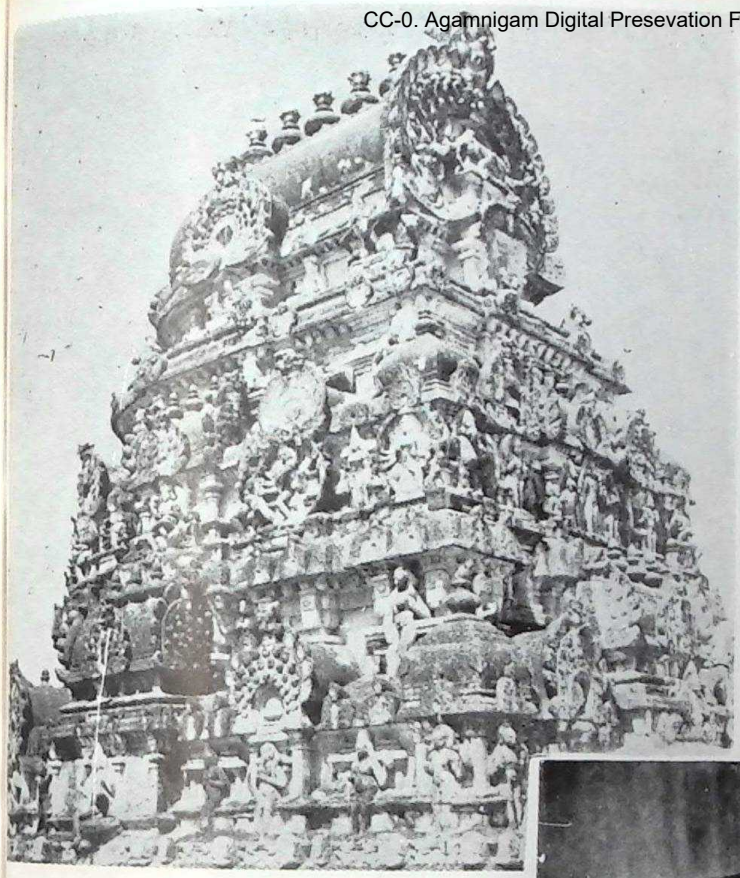
Pl. 289 Chandesvarar

Pl. 290 Surya

PARAMESVARAMANGALAM
Senbakesvarar temple

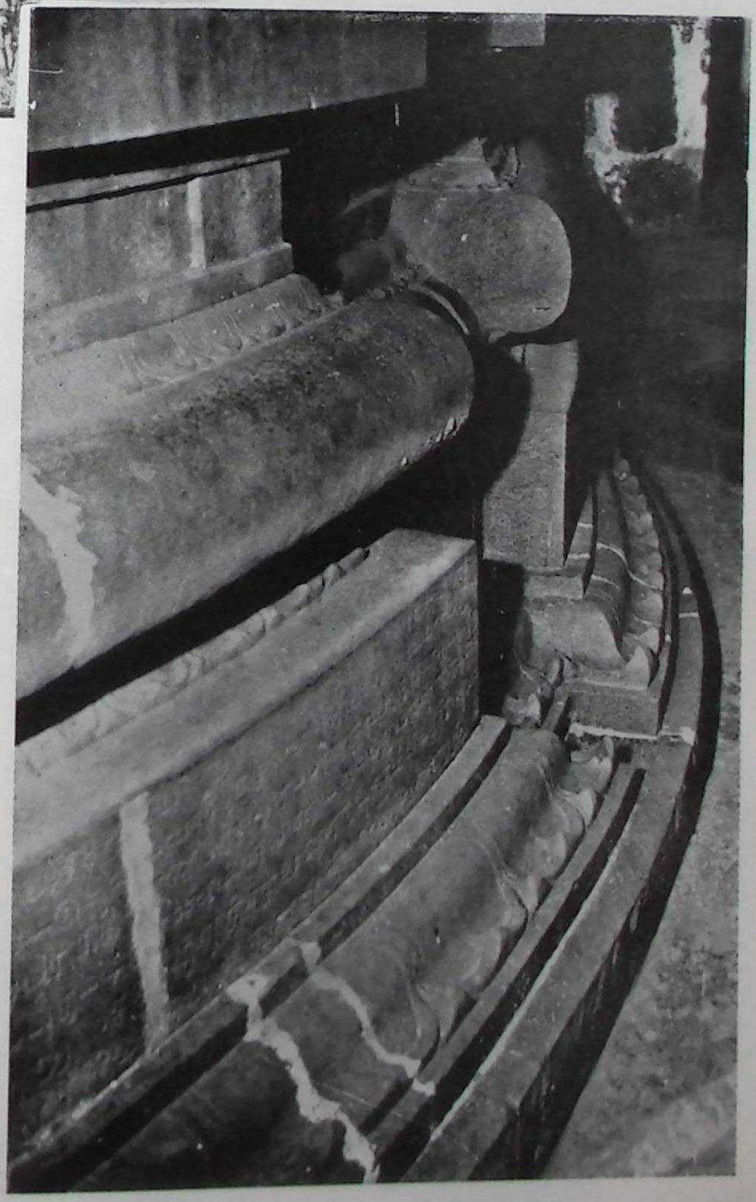
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

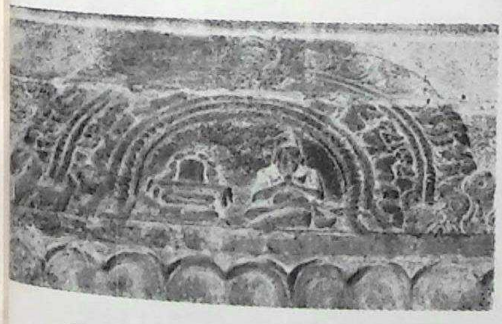


Pl. 291 Sri vimana

VADA-TIRUMULLAIVAYIL
Masilamanisvarar temple

Pl. 292 Adhishthana (moulded basement)

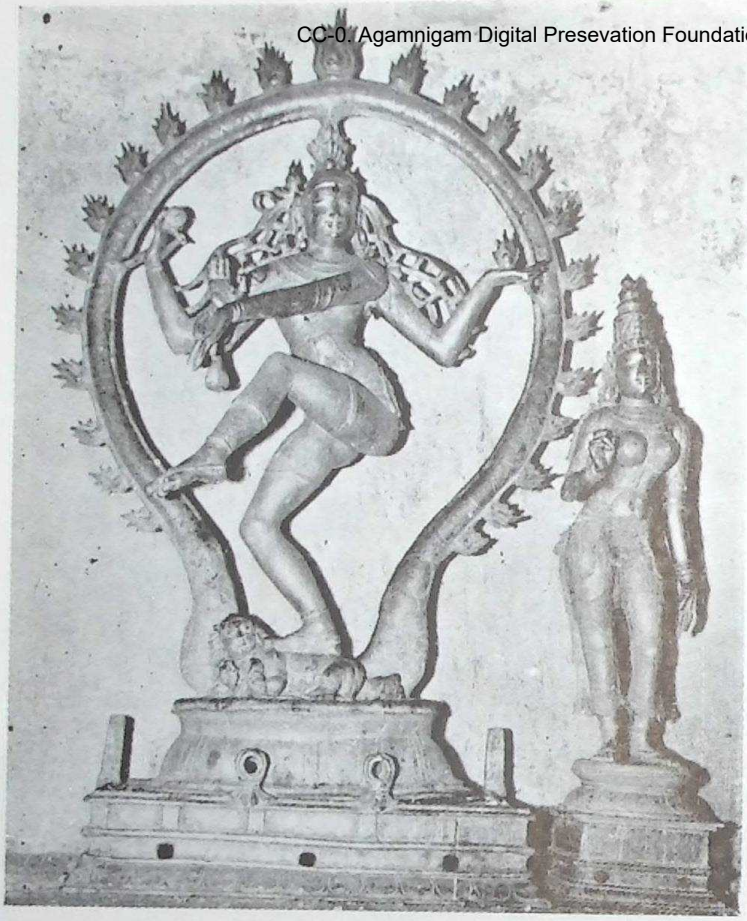




Pl. 293 Torana (Linga-worship)

Pl. 294 Torana (Gajasamharamurti)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 295 Ganapati ↑

Pl. 296 Nataraja & Sivakami ↑

Pl. 298 Surya ↓

VADA-TIRUMULLAIVAYIL, Masilamanisvarar temple

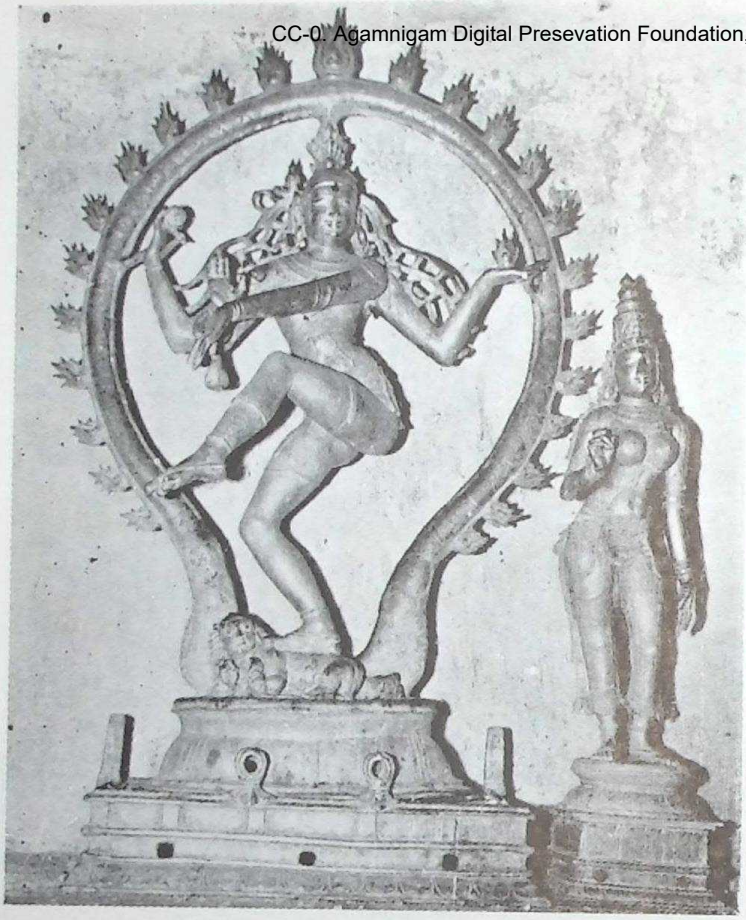
Pl. 297 Valampuri Ganapati ↓

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 299 Sri vimana

MELPADI
Arinjigai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl. 295 Ganapati ↑

Pl. 296 Nataraja & Sivakami ↑

Pl. 298 Surya ↓

VADA-TIRUMULLAIVAYIL, Masilamanisvarar temple

Pl. 297 Valampuri Ganapati ↓

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 299 Sri vimana

MELPADI
Arinjigai Isvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl. 301 Balasubrahamanya ↓

Pl. 300 Inscription of Rajaraja I (29th year) ↑

Pl. 302 Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti ↓

MELPADI
Arinjigai Isvaram

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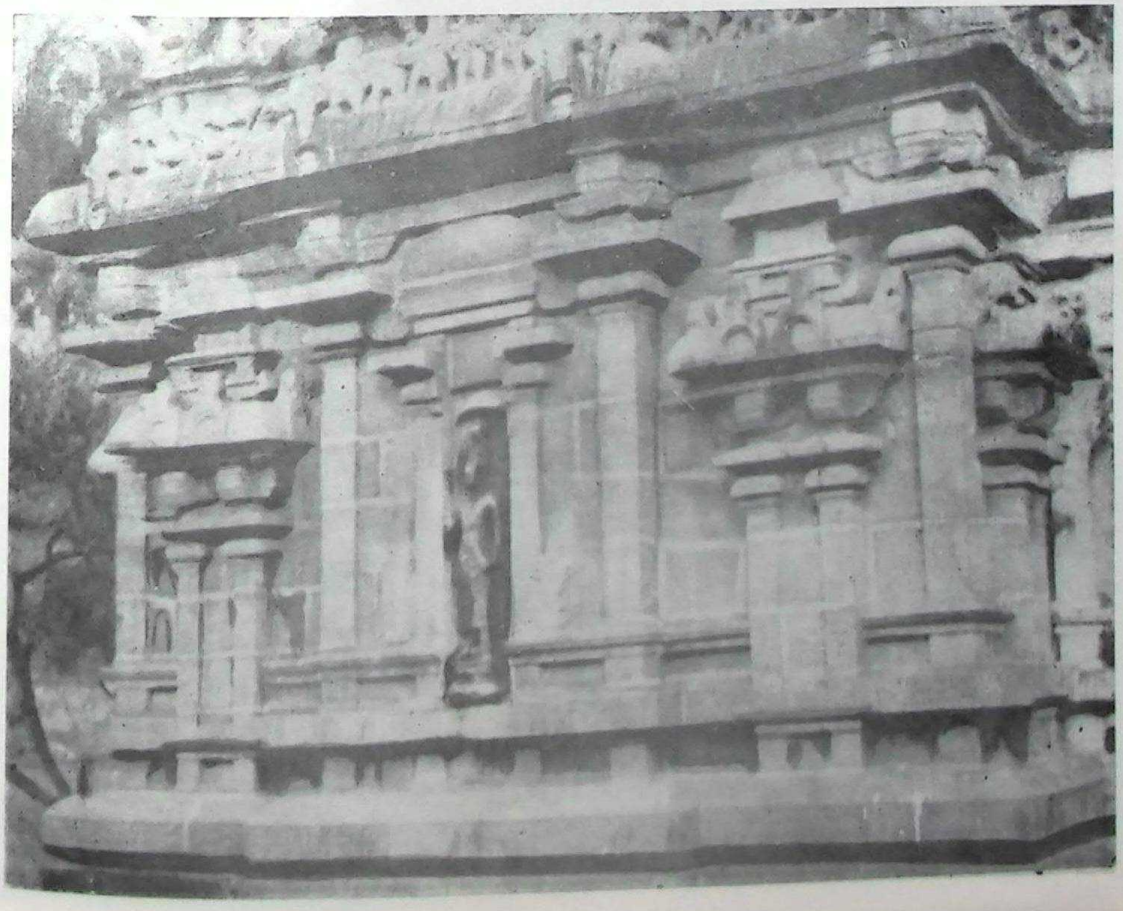
SUPPLEMENT
To E.C.A., Pt. I

Pl. 1 Sri vimana

KOYIL TEVA-
RAYANPETTAI
Matsyapurisvarar
temple



Pl. 2
ishthana &
Koshta-
panjaram

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KOYIL TEVARAYANPETTAI
Matsyapurisvarar temple

Pl. 4 Vishnu

Pl. 3 Ganapati

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Pl. 5 Brahma

Pl. 6 Durga

KOYIL TEVARAYANPETTAI
Matsyapurisvarar temple

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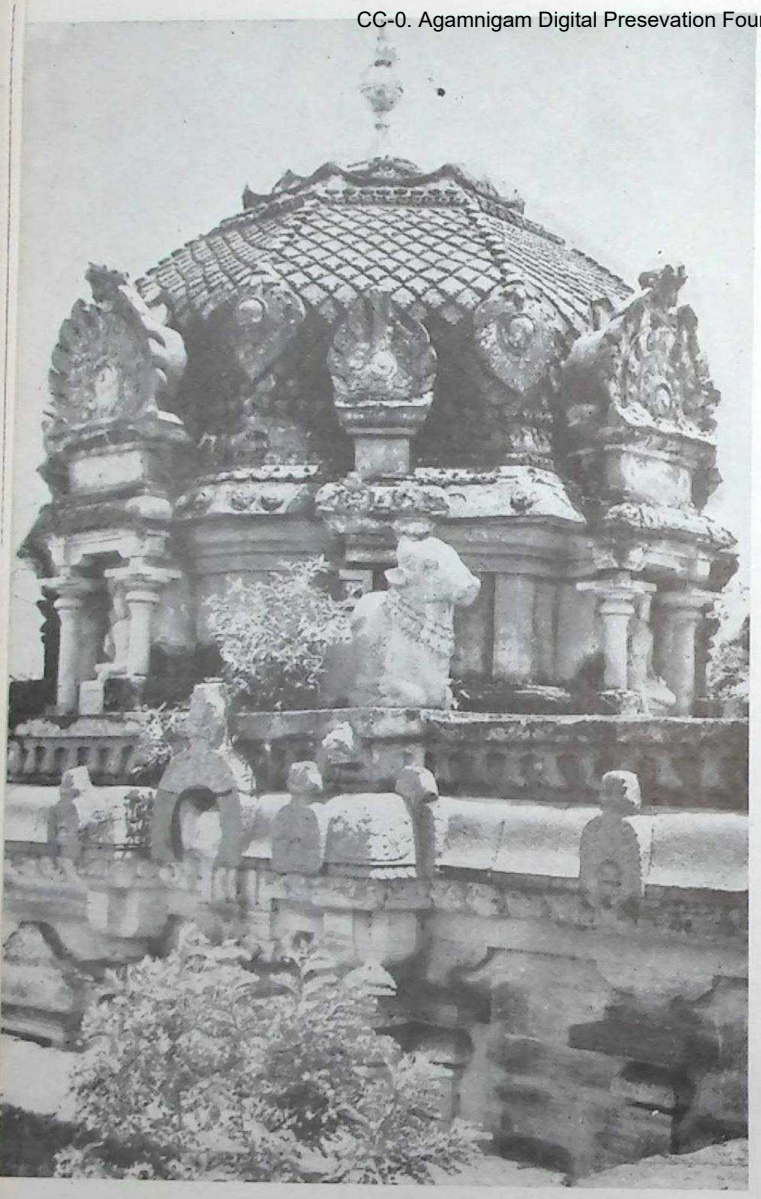
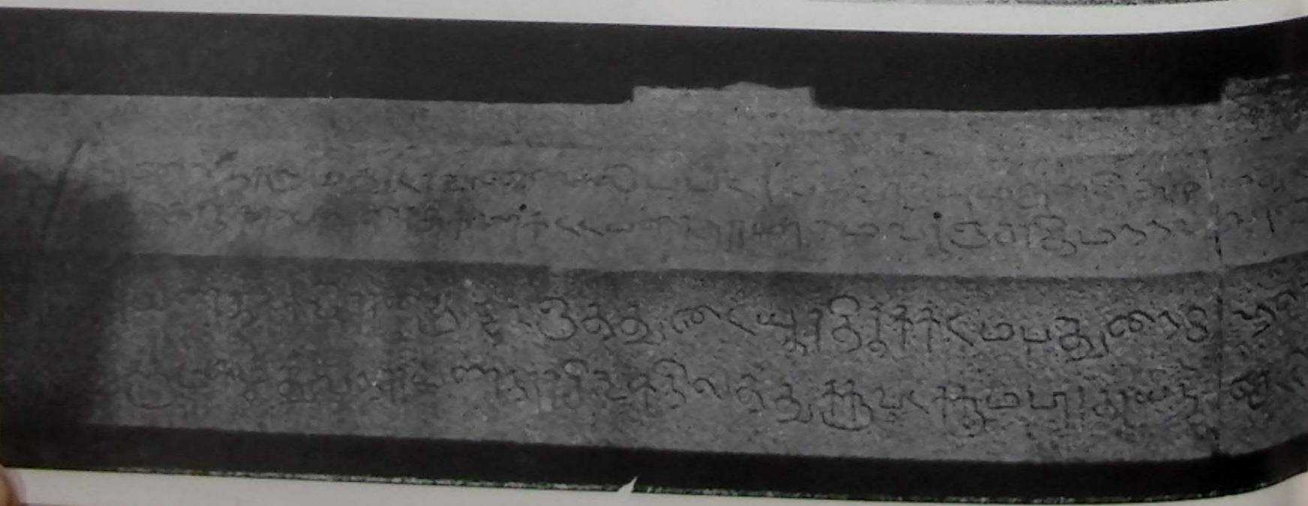
TURAIYUR (or TUDAIYUR)
Vishamangalesvarar
(Kadambatturai Mahadevar)
temple

←Pl. 7 Sri vimana



Pl. 8 Koshta pancharam→

Pl. 9 Inscription↓



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Pl. 10 Sarasvati

TURAIYUR
Vishamangalesvarar temple

Pl. 11 Vinadhara Dakshinamurti

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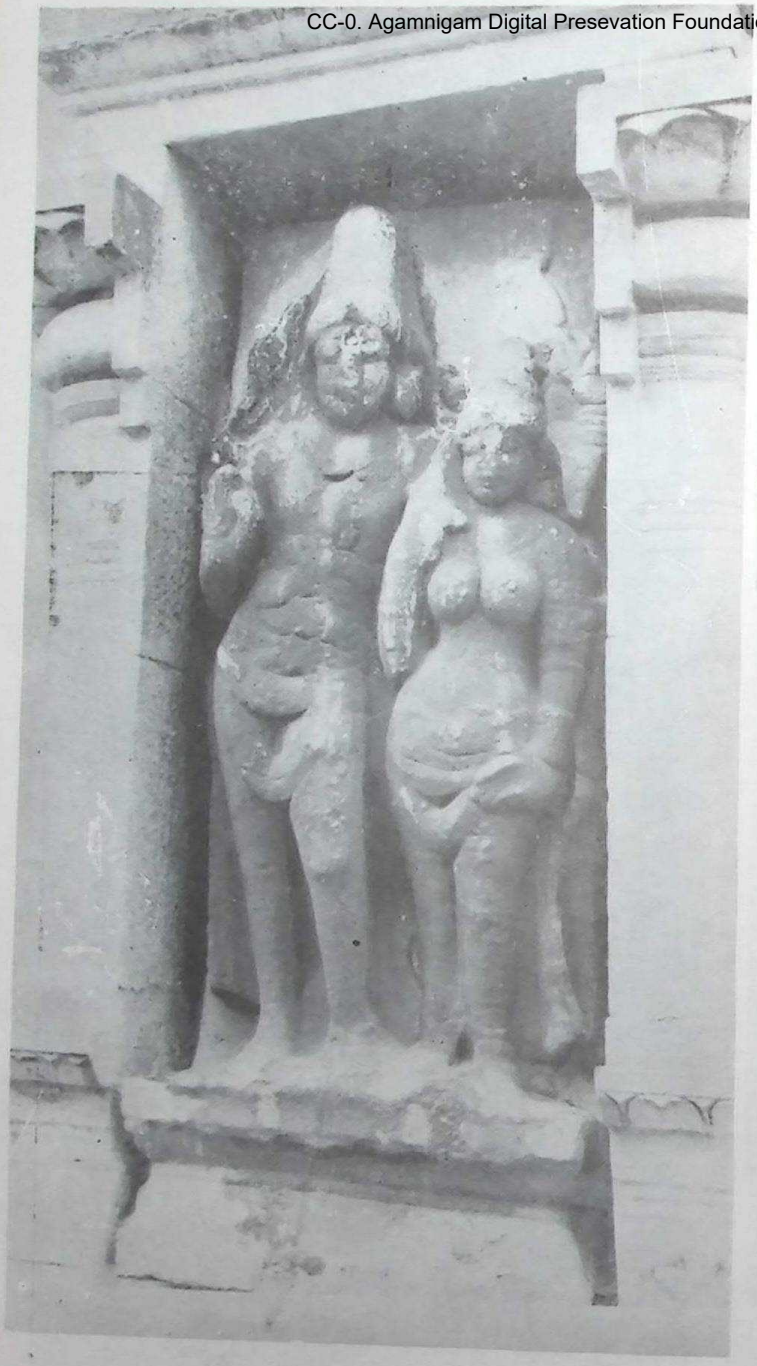

Pl. 12 Siva & Parvati (Alinginamurti)

Pl. 13 Chandesvarar

TURAIYUR
Vishamangalesvarar temple

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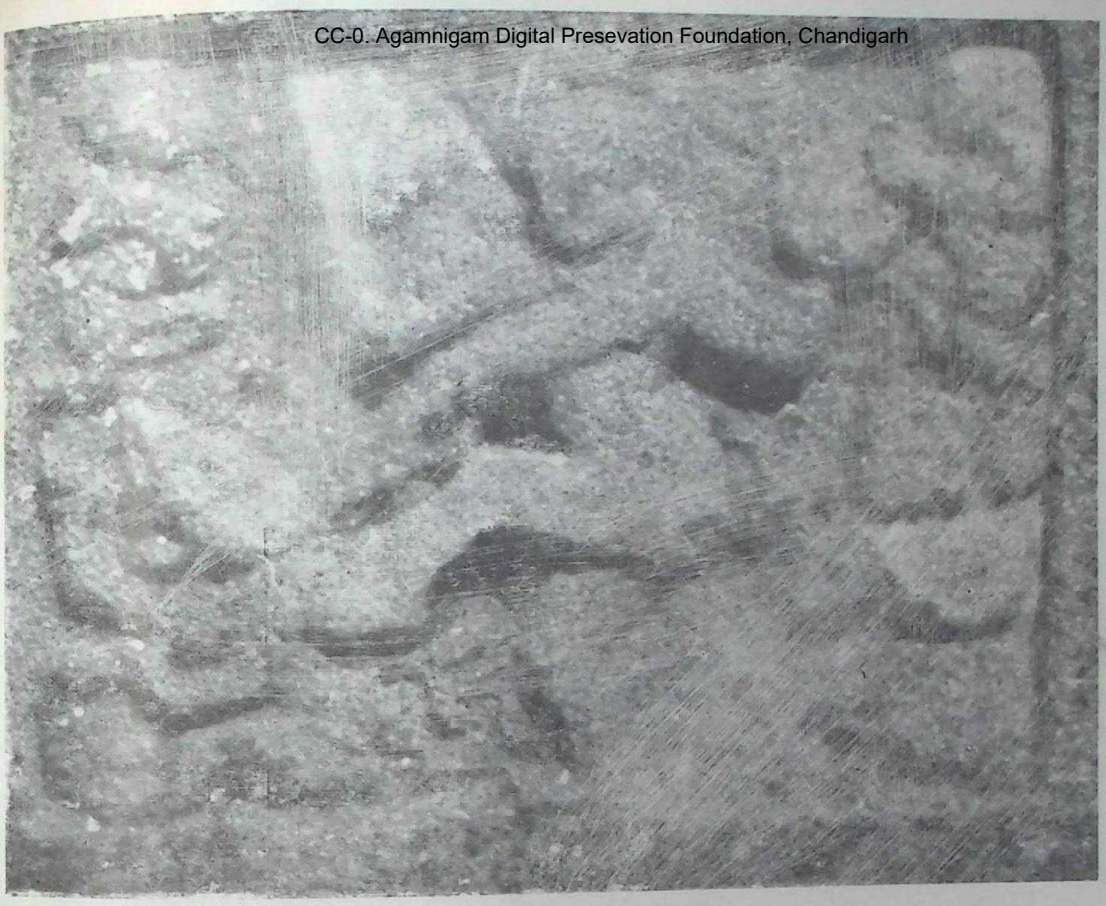

Pl. 14 Nataraja

TURAIYUR
Sri Vishamangalesvarar temple

Pl. 15 Addorsed bulls

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URAIYUR
Sri Tantonrisvaram

Pl. 16 Ardhanar-isvarar

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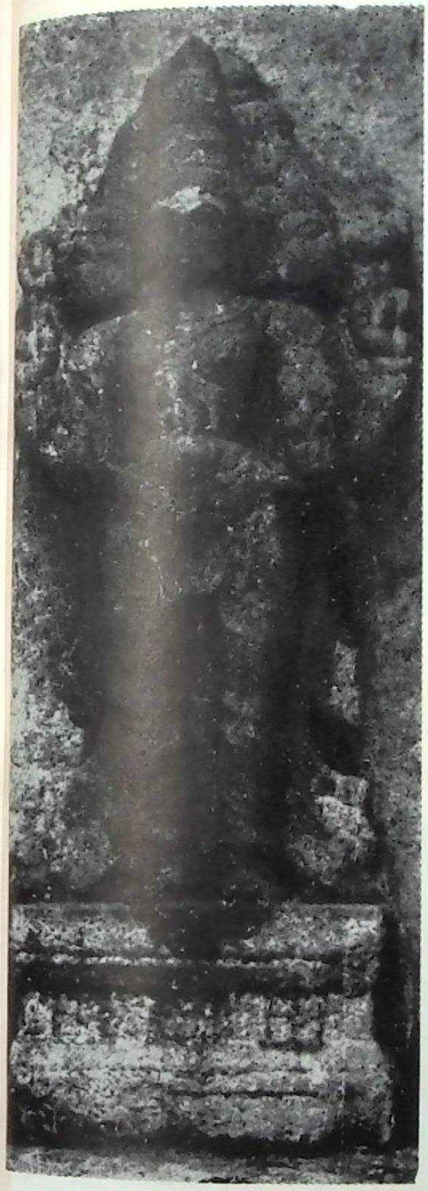
URAIYUR
Tantonrisvaram



Pl. 17 Brahma

Pl. 18 Chandesvarar

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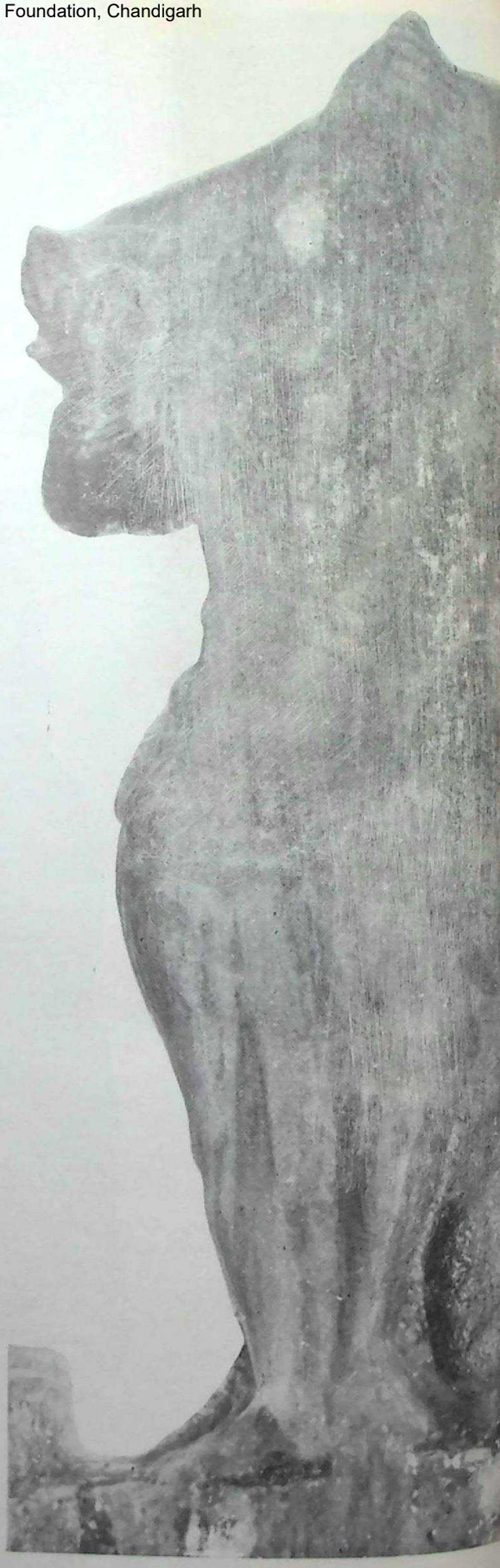

Pls. 19 & 20 Dvarapalas

URAIYUR, Tantonrisvaram

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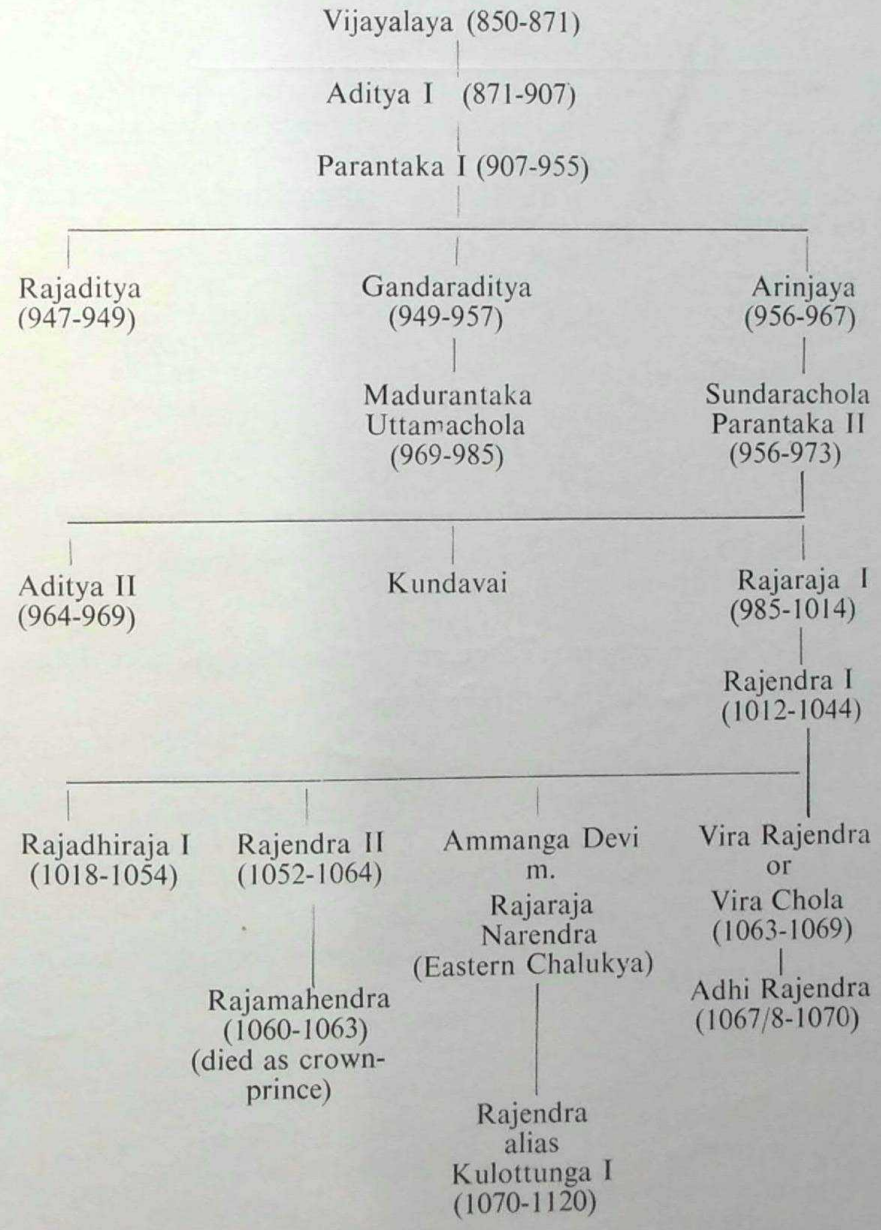
GENEALOGY OF THE CHOLAS

(A.D. 850 - 1279)



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Kulottunga I
(1070-1120)
|
Vikrama Chola
(1118-1135)
|

Kulottunga II alias Anapaya (1133-1150)	Neri Udai Perumal of Gangaikonda-Cholapuram
Rajaraja II (1146-1173)	Edirili Perumal alias Rajadhiraja II (1163-1166) (1163-1178?)
Kulottunga III (1178-1216)	
⋮	
Rajaraja III (1216-1253)	
⋮	
Rajendra III (1246-1258-1279)	

The Chola country was conquered by the Pandya ruler, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, in A.D. 1258.

Note :

The overlapping of regnal years of the Chola rulers as given in the genealogical table above is due to the reigning monarch appointing the sons or successors as Crown Prince even during their life-time giving them the privilege of counting their regnal years from the date of such anointment.

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ADDENDA

At the final stages of printing of this book, I saw the release of the publication of Vol. XIX (Nos. 1–471) of South Indian Inscriptions entitled 'Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman'. It is a valuable volume for Early Chola history. I have however to mention a few points on which I differ from the official views expressed in the Report.

1. Nos. 413 and 414 are from Kudumiyamalai. Both are dated to the 21st regnal year of a Parakesarivarman. They mention the gift by one *Madurantaka Irukkuvel* alias *Achchan Vikrama Kesari*. The two inscriptions are rightly assigned to Parantaka I (A.D. 928) but I am unable to agree that this donor might be the same as the Chief *Bhuti Vikrama Kesari* the builder of the Muvar-Koyil at Kodumbalur (see also MER for 1908, para 90).

2. No. 241, also from Kudumiyamalai (Pl. II) is assigned to Uttama Chola (with a mark of interrogation). Its script is sufficiently early to justify assigning it to the age of Vijayalaya, as I have stated in the text of my book. The editor of this publication says that Sembiyan Irukkuvelar whose wife Nangai Naladeviyar makes a gift to the Melakkoyil temple in this place, is "evidently identical with the Kodumbalur chief *Pudi (Bhuti) Parantakan* son of *Bhuti Vikrama Kesari*". We know nothing about the part played by the two sons of Bhuti Vikrama Kesari. The identification cannot be justified. This a mere guess and in my opinion a wrong one.

3. No. 297 from Tirupparkkadal is dated to the 120th day in the 12th year of a Parakesarivarman called the *'Kotta-nal'* (the day of the battle in which a victory was won, A.D. 919–920). It mentions a gift by *Sembiyan Irungovelar Pudi Adittar*. The battle here referred to is the battle of *Velur* (12th year of Parantaka I) and the identification of this chief with *Adityavarman*, son of Bhuti Vikrama Kesari, is not sustainable.

Tennavan Ilangovel *alias* Marayan Pudi of the Kilur inscription (16th year of Nandivarman III, and of the Tirupparaitturai inscription (27th year of Rajakesari, Aditya I) belongs to the 9th century A.D. (A.D. 851–898) and he is different from Bhuti Vikrama Kesari of Kodumbalur who belongs to the middle of the 10th century.

Anupama a Chola princess married Samarabhirama, father of Bhuti Vikrama Kesari of Kodumbalur but we have no evidence

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how she was related to the Chola kings. There is no evidence that she was the daughter of Vijayalaya.

The genealogy published on pages X & XI and the identifications stated therein need critical examination before acceptance. (See the Appendices I–V in pp. 132 to 137 of my present volume).

* * *

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